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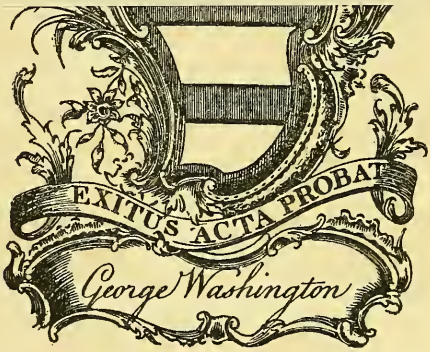

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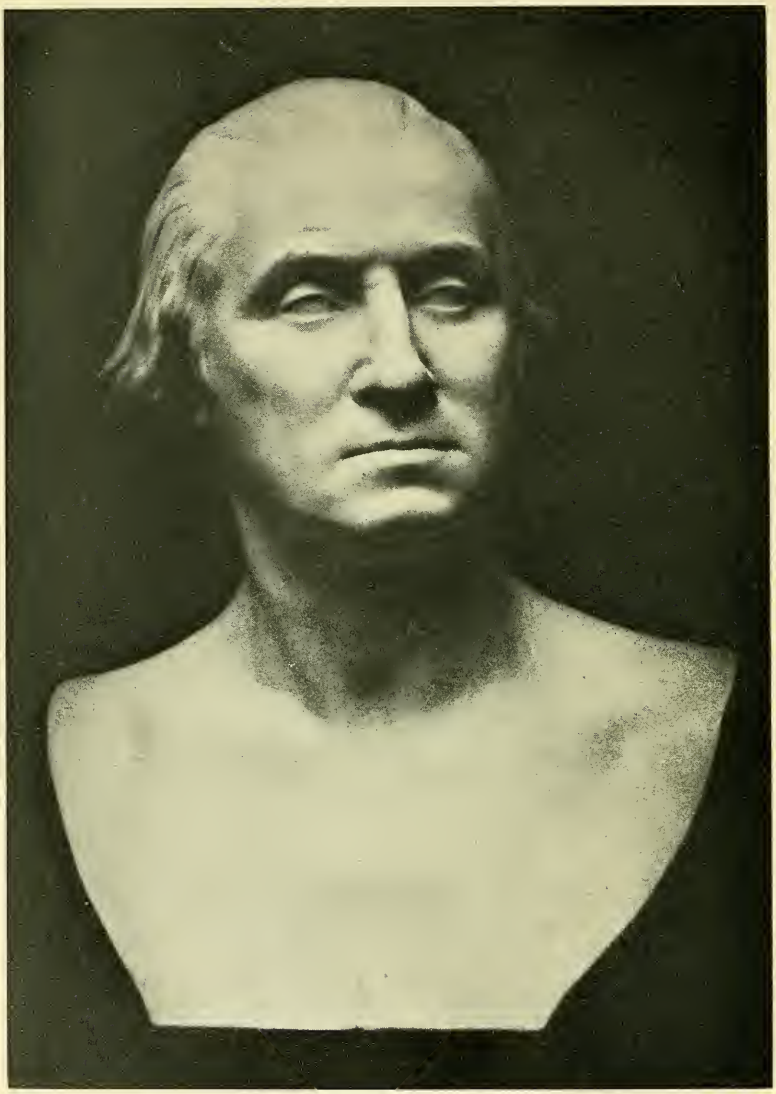
BICENTENNIAL EDITION

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON



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THE WRITINGS OF

George Washington

from the

Original Manuscript Sources

1745-1799

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Indicating that the letter is in Washington's own handwriting	*
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THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been informed by Lt. Colo. Frazer,[1] who is now a prisoner in your possession, that Major Belford[2] one of your Aids, had assured him it was your earnest desire, that a general exchange of Prisoners should take place on equitable terms; Or if this could not be effected, that the Officers on both sides should be released on parole. This I have no doubt was done by your authority, and with an intention that it should be communicated to me.

I assure you, Sir, nothing will afford me more Satisfaction, than to carry the first proposition into execution. But lest we should still unhappily disagree about the privates to be accounted for, and that this may not operate to the prejudice of the Officers, it is my wish for their mutual releif, that their exchange may immediately take place, so far as circumstances of rank and number will apply: And if any should then remain, that they may return to their Friends on Parole. I am induced to mention an exchange in preference to the other mode of release, supposing that it will be more agreeable to both parties. While we are on this subject, I would take the

[1] Lieut. Col. Persifor Frazer, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been taken prisoner at Brandywine, Pa.; escaped in March, 1778; resigned in October, 1778; appointed Clothier General of the Continental Army in July, 1779, but declined appointment; brigadier general of Pennsylvania Militia from May, 1782, to close of the war.

[2] Maj. Nisbet Balfour, of the Fourth Foot, British Army, aide to Sir William Howe.

liberty to suggest that on the footing of our present agreement, the Colonels who are your prisoners cannot be exchanged, there being no Officers of the like rank in your Army.[3] From this consideration I am led to inquire, whether an Equivalent cannot be fixed on to effect it, as has been practised in similar Cases. I have the honor, etc.[4]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 27th. Ulto. and am glad to find that the Enemy have fallen intirely down to New York. By their doing this, and sending away a reinforcement to Genl. Howe, it is evident that they have done with all thoughts of attempting any thing further to the Northward. Having lost one Army, it is certainty their interest and intention to make the other as respectable as possible, and as their force is now nearly drawn together at one point, in Philadelphia, it is undoubtedly our plan to endeavour, by an union of our Forces, to destroy Genl. Howe. To effect this purpose, you will, as directed in my two last, send on Poor's Brigade as soon as it arrives, and the Regiments of Lee and Jackson from Boston. If any more troops come down the River except they be those of New York, you will likewise send them on. I think it would be advisable for you to call upon Govr. Clinton and Govr. Trumbull for a small number of Militia, to assist the Continental troops that remain with you in putting Forts Clinton and Mountgomery in repair. I am etc.

P. S. In order to distract and alarm the Enemy and perhaps keep a greater force at New York than they intended Genl. Dickinson will contrive to convey intelligence that they will

[3] Most of the colonels in the British Army in America held the local rank of brigadier general.

[4] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; a copy by John Laurens is also in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

look upon as authentic, that he is to make a descent upon Staten Island, you upon Long Island and Genl. Gates directly upon New York. If you throw out hints of this kind before people that you think will send in the intelligence, it will serve to corroborate that given by General Dickinson.

Yours of the 31st. October is just come to hand, and it gives me pleasure to find, that the opinion of your council coincided exactly with ours here. To crush Genl. Howe effectually is the real and great object, I therefore beg no more Continental Troops may be retained, than are absolutely necessary, with the assistance of the Militia, to repair the Works in the Highlands. If a feint is made towards Kingsbridge, I had rather it should be principally with militia. You must not forget to send as many cattle forward as you possibly can, for not having had any supplies from New England since August last, we have exhausted the Beef in this quarter very considerably, and you know our Army will be much increased.[5]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Parole Newark. Countersigns Woodbridge, Monmouth.

A General Court Martial, of which Genl. Sullivan was president, was held the 30th. of October last, and the two following days for the tryal of Brigadier Genl Maxwell on the following charges, "That he was once, during the time he commanded the light troops, disguised with liquor in such a manner as to disqualify him in some measure, but not fully, from doing his duty; and that once or twice besides, his spirits were a little elevated with liquor" Upon which the Court pronounced sentence as follows:

"The Court having considered the charges, and evidences, are unanimously of opinion, that Brigadier General Maxwell,

[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

while he commanded the light troops, was not at any time disguised with liquor, so as to disqualify him in any measure from doing his duty. They do therefore acquit him of the charge against him."

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your Letter of the 1st. Instt. informing me of the delay of the Governor and Council in giving an answer on the subject of my last to you, and the reluctance of the Eastern Militia to abandon Elizabeth Town. To compensate for the backwardness of the latter in obeying orders, which they themselves do not absolutely approve, and make the best of their thwarting disposition, you propose a plan of operations which you think would be so perfectly coincident with the desires of the Militia, as greatly to increase their numbers, and which at the same time might be productive of important good consequences. I should perfectly agree with you and press the Execution, if the advanced Season, the consequent difficulty of breaking Ground, and the great danger of having Troops cut off that might be landed on Long Island, did not present themselves to me, as obstacles which render the enterprise ineligible.

Your idea of counteracting the intended Reinforcements for Mr. Howe's Army, by a demonstration of designs upon New York, I think an exceeding good one, and am very desirous that you should improve and mature it for immediate execution, a great shew of Preparatives on your side, boats collected, Troops assembled, Your expectation of the approach of Generals Gates and Putnam, intrusted as a secret to persons who you are sure will divulge and disseminate it in New York; in a word, such measures taken for effectually striking an alarm in that city,

and which it is altogether unnecessary for me minutely to describe to you, I am in great hopes may effect the valuable purpose which you expect. I am etc.[6]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL
JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Inclosed I had written to Colo. Green before your favour of yesterday reached my hands. I am happy in receiving so favourable a report, as your Letter contains, of the situation of the Forts. I most devoutly wish that the exertions of yourself and Officers may be crownd with the success that so good a cause, and such labours, deserve.

My Letters to Comodore Hazelwood, and Colo. Green, go unopend under this cover, that you may read, Seal, and deliver them. If the measure proposed in the Letter to Colo. Green, can be carried into execution no time should be lost. I thank you for your endeavours to restore confidence between the Comr. and Smith. I find something of the same kind existing between Smith and Monsr. Fleury, who I consider as a very valuable Officer. How strange it is that Men, engaged in the same Important Service, should be eternally bickering, instead of giving mutual aid! Officers cannot act upon proper principles, who suffer trifles to interpose to create distrust and jealousy. All our actions should be regulated by one uniform Plan, and that Plan should have one object only in view, to wit, the good of the Service. Where this is the case, although there may be a deversity of opinion there can be no real obstruction. I hope all these little rubs will be done away by your prudent managemt. I am etc.

[6]The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

P. S. What force have the Enemy at Billingsport? Is there a moral certainty (with your force) of driving them from thence? If there is, I have no objection to the attempt, but wish circumstances to be well considered before any resolution is come to.[7]

*To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I am led to believe from the conversation I have had with Lt Colo. Green, that you have made Fort Mercer impregnable against an assault, and that nothing is to be feared but from regular approaches, and Shells; to guard against the first, it will be found necessary to have some out Works, which time may, possibly, allow you to raise. to secure the Garrison against the Second, some Bomb proofs should be constructed. The first you can easily do; but how far the other is practicable I know not for want of competent knowledge of the place, its extent &ca. I would suggest to you however, by way of quære, whether caverns could not be cut out of the Bank below the work and supported (the Earth) by Pillars would not be the quickest, and most effectual method. If this should be found to answer, all your Men, in case of a Bombardment, might be concealed in them, except such as should be found necessary for Guards.

It is unnecessary I am perswaded to suggest to you the propriety of keeping a sufficient quantity of Salt provision and Bread or Flour in the Fort in case of an Investiture, as also Wood for Fires and Cooking. I am etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL PERSIFOR FRAZER

Head Quarters, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been favor'd with your Letter of the 9th. Ulto. and was sorry to find, that the situation of our Officers was so

[7] The letter sent, a facsimile of which is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress, is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, with the P. S. in that of Washington. The draft is in the writing of Washington, with the P. S. in that of Meade.

disagreable. You are well acquainted with the treatment of the prisoners in our hands, and therefore can determine without difficulty, how just the grounds for your confinement are.

In respect to a General exchange of prisoners, it has ever been my wish, that it should take place on just and equal terms. My Letters to Genl Howe upon the subject, I trust, evince this to have been the case. I have written to him again, and shall be happy, if we can effect so desireable an Object, on proper principles. If this cannot be done, I have proposed, that it should be no impediment to the Exchange of All the Officers, as far as circumstances of Rank and number will apply; And if any should then remain, that they may be released on parole. The first mode mentioned for the liberation of the Officers, I expect, will be most agreeable to both parties. You may imagine your Letter upon this Subject, might have received an earlier Answer. I assure you, the delay has not proceeded from inattention to the distresses of our prisoners, or want of inclination to afford them every possible relief. I am etc.[8]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter dated Yesterday, giving an account of the reinforcement which you expect from Genl. Varnum and the supplies of Clothing from Genl. Forman; it gives me pain to learn that the latter are likely to be so inadequate to your wants, but hope that by taken proper measures, the Contributions of the Inhabitants will not prove so poor a resource as you seem to fear.

Inclosed is a Letter to Major Fleury, whom I ordered to Fort Mifflin to serve in quality of Engineer, as he is a young man of talents and has made this branch of Military Service his particular study. I place a confidence in him, you will therefore

[8] From a facsimile in the *Washington Papers,* in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

make the best arrangement for enabling him to carry such plans into execution, as come within his Department, his authority at the same time that it is subordinate to yours must be sufficient for putting into practice what his knowledge of Fortification points out as necessary for defending the post, and his Department, tho inferior, being of a distinct and separate nature, requires that his orders should be in a great degree discretionary, and that he should be suffered to exercise his judgment; persuaded that you will concur with him in every measure which the good of the Service may require.[9] I remain &ca.[10]

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, 10 O'Clock A. M., November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received your favour of 8 O'Clock last Evening and think you have fallen upon an exceeding good method of gaining intelligence and that too much secrecy cannot be used, both on account of the safety of your Friend and the execution and continuance of your design, which may be of Service to us.[11]

In your next, I'd have you mention that General Gates, now having nothing to do to the Northward, is sending down a very Handsome Reinforcement of Continental Troops to this Army, whilst he with the remainder of them and all the New England and York Militia, is to make an immediate descent on New York, the reduction of which is confidently spoke of, as it is generally supposed that a large part of Clinton's Troops are detached to the assistance of Genl. Howe, and that Genl.

[9] The letter to Fleury was signed by Laurens, as aide-de-camp, and directed the engineer to proceed to Fort Mifflin and receive his authority to act there from Lieutenant Colonel Smith. A copy of this letter, dated Nov. 4, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers.*

[10] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[11] Clark's letter, dated Nov. 3, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers.* Washington made up a false return of the strength of the Continental Army, with a brief memorandum of his intended movements, and Clark's spy carried it in to Sir William Howe on his next trip.

Dickinson is at the same time to attack Staten Island, for which purpose he is Assembling great numbers of the Jersey Militia; that the received opinion in our Camp is, that we will immediately attack Philadelphia on the arrival of the Troops from the Northward, and that I have prevailed upon the Legislative Body to order out two thirds of the Militia of this State for that purpose; that you heard great talk of the Virginia and Maryland Militia coming up, and in short that the whole Continent seems determined that we use every exertion to put an end to the War this winter; that we mention the forts as being perfectly secure, having sent ample Reinforcements to their support.

These are the outlines of what I think should be mentioned, however you will make any alteration you think necessary.

A report of our having made a fortunate stroke at Rhode Island prevailed, but I much doubt it is premature and that little or nothing is done there. The bearer will deliver you the paper you mention.[12] I am etc.[13]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Sir: General Potter and Captt. Lee, who are posted upon the west side of Schuylkill to interrupt the Enemy's communication across the Islands, both assure me, that they undoubted pass by night with Boats between Province and Mud Island and into Schuylkill. If this passage is not stopped in some measure, it is in vain to think of hindering them from getting supplies from their Shipping as long as the River remains free of Ice. I will not undertake to point out to you the mode of doing this, but in my opinion the most probable is, to keep small Boats rowing guard between the south end of Mud Island and

[12] Clark had requested a quire of writing paper.
[13] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

the Pennsylvania Shore, and a Galley or two under the North end of Mud Island, when the weather will permit. If the Guard Boats make a signal, the Gallies may get ready to intercept the Convoy. The Enemy will not chuse to fire in the dark, because there will be a greater chance of damaging their own craft, than hurting our Armed Vessels, as being greater in number. I beg you will immediately fall upon this or any other scheme, which to you may seem more effectual to put a stop to this intercourse. I am etc.[14]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, November 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 22d. and 25th. of October. As you have wrote to Congress respecting the difficulty of supplying the prisoners of Genl. Burgoyne's Army with Quarters, Fuel and Provisions, I imagine they will give proper directions in the matter. I do not think it to our interest to expedite the passage of the prisoners to England, for you may depend upon it that they will, immediately upon their arrival there, throw them into their different Garrisons, and bring out an equal number. Now if they sail in December, they may arrive time enough to take the places of others who may be out in May, which is as early as a Campaign can be well entered upon. I look upon it, that there principal difficulty will arise, from the want of provisions for the voyage, and therefore altho' I would supply them with Rations agreeable to stipulation, I would not furnish an ounce for Sea Store, nor suffer it to be purchased in the Country.

The account you give of the appropriation of the Arms, which had been drawn for Henly's, Lee's and Jackson's Regiments is perfectly satisfactory.

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

What you say respecting the disabled Soldiers to the Northward, is agreeable to my idea of the matter, and I would therefore have you embody them at convenient places for the present, and when they get fit for small services let them Mount the guards at the Elaboratories and places where Stores are deposited. I dare say we shall have subjects enough to establish a Corps of invalids in the Eastern as well as the middle Colonies.

The present State of the Commissary's department gives me great uneasiness, and I fear, that by the removal of the old Officers during the active part of the Campaign, the Army will suffer. I am however obliged to you, for the information respecting the inattention that has hitherto been paid to the putting up Meat to the Eastward, which is the Country we depend upon for Beef, and where all our Salt is deposited. I shall immediately write to the new Commissary General of purchases and know why this neglect has happened.

The expedition to Rhode Island is just as much a secret to me as it is to you. I never was consulted upon it neither do I know from whence or whom it originated. You must therefore apply to Congress for directions in regard to the payment of the troops employed, for I cannot give the least authority for it. I am &ca.[15]

[MS. H. S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, November 5, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter of this morning and am sorry to find that your orders respecting the Mills have not been carried into execution. it is my desire that the Officer employed in this business should be put under Arrest and tried for disobedience of orders. the parts of the machinery which he has removed may be very easily replaced, whereas had he followed

[15] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the directions given him, the end in view would have been effectually answered.

Colonel Crawford's party was ordered to join you only for the particular purpose of distressing the Enemy by cutting their Banks; If this Service can be done without them, or is found impracticable altogether, I have no motive for detaining them. I am etc.

P. S. As the Corps under your Command will probably be an object for the Enemy, you cannot be too vigilant nor guard yourself by too many precautions against surprise; I mention this, in consequence of hints given me of their intentions, and hope therefore it will have its proper effect.[16]

To THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL

Camp at White Marsh, November 5, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your favor of the 25th Ulto. and join your honorable board most heartily, in congratulations on our success in the surrender of Genl. Burgoyne and his Army, an Event of great importance, and which reflects the highest honor upon our Arms.

In respect to the embarkation of the Prisoners, I take it for granted, that the beneficial consequences the British Nation will derive from their arrival in England, will be sufficient motives for General Howe to use every possible exertion to get them away, and that no application for that end will be necessary. For, as soon as they arrive, they will enable the Ministry to send an equal number of other Troops from their different Garrisons to join him here, or upon any other service against the American States. I shall be sorry, if their remaining, should subject you to the inconveniences you seem to apprehend; and,

[16] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

if they can be accomodated, I think, in point of Policy, we should not be anxious for their early departure. As to the Transports, if Genl. Howe is in a Situation to send them, It is to be presumed, they will be properly appointed with provisions and Wood, the terms of Convention not obliging us to furnish their Prisoners for a longer time than their continuance in our hands. I do not apprehend, that there will be anything to fear from the Vessels assigned for their transportation. The Condition which they are to be allowed an Entry, imports a time and no stipulations that can be made, will be more obligatory. Nevertheless, prudence and the usage of Nations do not only justify, but require, that every precaution should be had, previous to their being admitted into Port, to prevent an infraction of treaty and any Act incompatable with the design of their coming. What these precautions ought to be, will naturally occur. In fine, Sir, I do not know how far I should advise in this business, and suppose it probable, that Congress will give you their sentiments fully upon it, being possessed of all the circumstances by a state[ment] from Genl. Gates, and also from Genl. Heath.

I have nothing new to inform you of, the Situation of the Enemy in this Quarter being the same that it has been for some time past, and no interesting event having taken place, since the repulse of Count Donnop on the 22d Ulto. and the destruction of the two Ships of War the succeeding day. I have the honor etc.[17]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 5, 1777.

Parole Pampet. Countersigns Woodstock, York.

Agreeably to former orders, all reports of the guards and scouting parties, are to be made by the officers commanding

[17] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. Ford prints this letter as to Jeremiah Powell, who was president of the council.

them, to the Major General of the day, who is to report to the Commander in Chief.

Every regiment is to go on making cartridges, every day, when the weather will admit of it. The Commissary of military stores is to make a return, of the cartridges returned to him, and of the regiment's by which they were made up.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White Marsh, November 6, 1777.

Parole Warsaw. Countersigns Berlin, Dresden.

The independent Company commanded by Capt. Joshua Williams is to be annexed to, and do duty with the 4th. Pennsylvania regiment, 'till further orders.

All prisoners (not being Continental soldiers) and suspected persons are to be carried to the Major General of the day, to be examined and dealt with, as he shall see fit.

The Colonels or officers commanding regiments are to appoint one officer from each regiment, to go with four men to Bethlehem, to get such of their cloathing as is absolutely necessary, and bring the same in waggons to camp. The waggon Master General will make the necessary provision of waggons for that end.

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Head Quarters, November 6, 1777.

Dr. Sir: The approaching season, and the scanty supplies of Cloathing in public Store, without an immediate prospect of their being increased, have induced me, to send Lt. Colo. Adams of your state to procure, if possible a Quantity for the Troops which come from thence. The distress of the Army in this instance I am sorry to inform you, is now considerable,

and it will become greater and greater every day, if some relief should not be had. Genl. Smallwood has addressed you on the subject and having pointed out the wants of your soldiery in a particular manner, it is unnecessary for me to make a minute detail of them. I shall therefore take the Liberty of referring you to his letter, and must entreat the interposition of your aid, to facilitate, as much as possible, the purpose and design of Colo. Adams's Commission. I do not know what supplies of Cloathing Maryland may have on hand; However, whatever they are, they can never be furnished with more propriety, than at the present juncture. Our wants extend to every species and to Blankets; but to the latter, and to shoes and Stockings in a peculiar degree. Besides the Necessaries, which I hope will be derived from the State, I have instructed Colo. Adams, to obtain all he possibly can by purchase from the Inhabitants, in which, I trust, he will have your countenance and warmest recommendation. These requisitions are not the result of Choice but of painful necessity; and viewing them in this light, I am well assured, you will not only excuse them, but will readily afford every relief in your Power to give. Our calls are pressing, and equal to any the imagination can represent. If they can be answered and the Troops can be properly provided in these instances, I should hope that we may be able to obtain some signal, if not some decisive advantages over the Enemy, by a Winter's Campaign; If not, we shall not be in a situation to attempt anything on a large and general scale. We are trying to make a Collection here, and, under the authority of Congress, compulsory measures have been adopted, in some cases, to draw aid from the disaffected, where it could well be spared but was refused. I congratulate you sincerely on our success in the surrender of Genl. Burgoyne an event this, that reflects much honor upon our Arms. I have nothing new to

inform you of here, The repulse Count Donnop met with and the destruction of the two Ships of War, being the last interesting occurrences. I am etc.[18]

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 6, 1777.

Sir: I inclose you an extract of a letter which I have just received from Genl. Heath.[19] I can hardly suppose but what you have taken some steps towards laying up a supply of salt provision in New England, which is not only the most plentiful Country for Meat, but the quarter in which our principal Magazenes of Salt are deposited. But I am fearful from Genl. Heath's representation, who is an attentive, careful officer, that the persons you may have employed, are not doing their duty with that alacrity which the importance of the matter requires. I therefore think it incumbent upon me to give you the information I have received that you may lose no time in having the matter thoroughly inquired into, and if proper measures have not been pursued or proper persons appointed, that you may rectify both. I am &ca.[20]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL
JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 7, 1777.

Sir: From various accounts, I am convinced that the Enemy are upon the point of making a grand effort upon Fort Mifflin, a person in confidence of one of their principal artificers, thinks it will be to day or to morrow. No time is therefore to be lost in making that Garrison as respectable as your numbers will

[18] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Richard Kidder Meade.

[19] Heath's letter, dated Oct. 25, 1777, from which the extract was taken, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is printed by Sparks in *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 16.

[20] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

admit, for should the attack commence before they are reinforced, it may probably be out of your power to throw them in. I think you had for the present better draw all the Continental Troops into or near Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and let what Militia are collected lay without, for I am of opinion that they will rather dismay than assist the Continental Troops, if shut up in the Forts. Acquaint the Commodore that my informant says, there are three floating Batteries and some fire rafts prepared which are to fall down upon his Fleet, at the same time that the Island is attacked, and desire him to keep a look out and make the necessary preparations to receive them. As Fort Mercer[21] cannot be attacked without considerable previous notice, I would have you spare, as many Men to Fort Mifflin as you possibly can, for if accounts are to be depended upon, that is undoubtedly the post the Enemy have their designs upon. I am very anxious to hear what was the occasion of the heavy firing of musketry on the Evening of the 5th. it seemed to us to be at Fort Mifflin. I am &ca.[22]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL PETER ADAMS[23]

Head Quarters, November 7, 1777.

Sir: The approaching season, and the distresses of the army in the Articles of Blankets and Cloathing make it necessary, that every practicable measure should be pursued to procure supplies.

Therefore to releive, if possible, the wants of the Troops, raised by the State of Maryland, in these essential Articles, you are to proceed immediately to Govr. Johnson with the Letters you have in charge for him, and to receive whatever supplies

[21] The draft read as "you" can not be attacked, but Washington crossed out the pronoun and inserted "Fort Mercer."

[22] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[23] Of the Seventh Maryland Regiment. He was lieutenant colonel commandant of the First Maryland Regiment Aug. 1, 1779; transferred to the Third Maryland Regiment in January, 1781; served to April, 1783.

the State may be in a situation to furnish in these instances, and which they may think proper to deliver. You know the circumstances of the Troops and must explain them.

Besides the necessaries you may receive from the State, you will use every possible endeavour to procure further supplies by purchasing from the Inhabitants and Individuals. For which purpose you will receive of the Pay Master General Two thousand Dollars. I have written to the Govr. of this measure, and I am well assured, he will give you every countenance and aid in his power to promote it. The Wants of the Troops are general. But in the Articles of Blankets, Shoes and Stockings, they are peculiarly great. A considerable supply of these must be had, if it is possible; upon a due representation, I trust, the people at large, from motives of generosity and a regard to the service, will make every contribution their Circumstances will admit of and upon reasonable terms.

You will keep a particular account of all the Cloathing you obtain, of the prices paid for them and of every expence incurred in bringing them to Camp. These you will report on your return, with the whole of your proceedings. You will find a List of Necessaries wanted, inclosed by Genl. Smallwood to the Governor.[24]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White Marsh, November 7, 1777.

Parole Exeter. Countersigns Kingston, Dover.

The independent Company commanded by Captn. Weaver[25] is to be annexed to, and do duty with the 10th. Pennsylvania regiment 'till further orders.

[24] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. This same letter, with the necessary changes, was sent to Lieut. Col. Charles Pope, of the Delaware Regiment, on November 8.

[25] Capt. Jacob Weaver.

Some dispute having arisen relative to certain men, inlisted by Mr. Nelson,[26] now doing duty in the 7th. Pennsylvania regiment, A Court of inquiry is to examine into the matter, and report their opinion, whether those men should remain as they are, or be transferred to the 9th. Pennsylv. Regt. for which regiment it is said they were inlisted. A field officer and captain from Maxwell's brigade, and one field officer from Col. Humpton's brigade are to compose this court, which is to sit to-morrow morning at nine o'clock at Col. Brearley's[27] quarters; who is to be one of the members.

It is expected by the Commander in Chief, that all intelligence from the enemy's lines, which may come to the knowledge of any officer, and bears the marks of authenticity, will be immediately communicated to him, or the Major General of the day, who will, if the cause requires it, give immediate information thereof to him.

Officers commanding at out-posts, are to receive and detain, all passes which are given merely for the purpose of passing them, lest they should afterwards be put to an improper use.

Since the General left Germantown in the middle of September last he has been without his baggage, and on that account is unable to receive company in the manner he could wish; he nevertheless desires, the Generals, Field Officers, and Brigade Major of the day, to dine with him in future, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 8, 1777.

Parole Hungary. Countersigns Prussia, Poland.

The service requiring that the men be ready to march on the shortest notice, the officers commanding brigades and corps

[26] William(?) Nelson, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania battalion of the Flying Camp.

[27] Lieut. Col. David Brearley, of the First New Jersey Regiment. He resigned in August, 1779.

are to be particularly careful to keep their men constantly supplied with two days' provisions on hand.

To make the more dispatch in the trial of Officers under arrest, Brigade General Courts Martial are to be held without delay for the trial of all such officers as shall apply to the Brigadiers, or officers commanding brigades for trial before these courts.

The Commander in Chief approved of the sentence of the General Court Martial, relative to Brigadier Genl. Maxwell, published in General Orders of the 4th. instant, but thro' mistake that approbation was not inserted.

To THE PRESIDENT OF DELAWARE[28]

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Sir: The approaching season and the scanty Supplies of Cloathing in public store, have induced me to send Lt. Colo. Pope[29] to procure, if possible, a suitable Quantity for the Troops of your State. The distress of the Army in this instance, is great, and will daily increase, if some relief is not obtained. I do not know, whether your State may have turned its attention to this Object, or what provision it may have made. If it has and there are Supplies on hand, it will be a happy circumstance: but if not, I must intreat the earliest interposition of your aid, that a sufficient collection may be made.

Besides the necessaries, which I hope will be derived from the State, I have instructed Colo. Pope to obtain all he possibly can by purchase from the Inhabitants and Individuals, in which, I trust, he will have your countenance and every assistance. I need not detail our Wants; they are general, and extend to every species of Cloathing and to Blankets, but to the latter, and to Shoes and Stockings, in a peculiar manner. I assure you,

[28] John McKinly, who at this date was a prisoner of war. George Read was Vice President of Delaware and the then acting executive.

[29] Lieut. Col. Charles Pope, of the Delaware regiment. He resigned in December, 1779.

Sir, these requisitions of mine are not the result of Choice but of the most urgent necessity, which will apologize for the trouble they may occasion you. Colo. Pope is acquainted with the condition of the Troops, and will explain it. As the circumstances of your State, in point of Manufactures, are equal to any and far superior to those of most of the Thirteen, I flatter myself, that the supplies from thence will be ample for their soldiery, and that they will in some measure exceed for the benefit of the Army in General. Those who are able and attached to the cause, ought to contribute from motives of generosity and a regard to the service; And such as are disaffected, should be compelled. The latter is authorised by Congress and in a few instances the power has been exercised. I have the Honor etc.[30]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Sir: The great importance of the post at Red Bank has led me to be importunate in applications for its reinforcement. the State over which your Excellency presides is more particularly call'd upon, by reason of its Situation, and because it never furnished the two thousand Men which were ordered as its quota to the Continental Army. I do therefore most earnestly entreat your Excellency, that no exertions be wanting on your part, to have as respectable a Force embodied as the Circumstances of the State will permit, for the purpose abovementioned.

Haddonfield may be appointed as the place of rendezvous for the several Parts of it, and when the whole are assembled there, they will receive the orders of Brigr. Genl. Varnum. I am etc.

P. S. Tho' Haddonfield is mentioned as a convenient place for Assembling this Reinforcement, yet it is not to be considered

[30]In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The original is in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J., to whose kindness the editor is indebted.

as stationary, but subject to removal as circumstances may require.

P. S. When this was ready to be closed, your Excellency's Letter of the 5th Inst. came to hand. I hope the measures which you have proposed for furnishing the Troops with Cloathing and Blankets will be adopted and prove successful, as it is a Matter of the highest importance. I think there can be no objection to your Excellency's plan for disposing of the State Prisoners, as it is dictated by humanity and is perfectly consistent with good policy.[31]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 8, 1777.

Sir: I do myself the honor to inclose you an extract of a letter from Major Genl. Dickinson of the 6th instant[32] by which it appears that a reinforcement has sailed from New York [either for] Genl. Howe [or some other expedition]. I have not yet heard whether any of the Troops on their march from the northward have yet crossed the North River, but I hope they will be with me, near as soon as Genl. Howe's reinforcement can arrive at Philadelphia.

There was a heavy firing of Cannon all the day of the 5th. down the river, and in the evening some musquetry was heard, from whence we concluded that an attack had been made upon Fort Mifflin. But it turned out to be an attack made by Genl. Varnum, with a 12 and an 18 pounder fixed near Red Bank, [upon] the Enemy's Ships. He thinks he damaged the Somerset of 64 Guns considerably, as she got on ground and was for some time exposed to his fire. The Ships were obliged to quit their Stations and fall lower down. From a variety of accounts

[31] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[32] Dickinson's letter, dated Nov. 6, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*. The extract is filed with this letter of Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

and circumstances, I am induced to believe that the Enemy are meditating a grand blow against Fort Mifflin. I have put the place in as good a state of defence as my present numbers will admit, and have directed Genl. Varnum to afford every further assistance in his power. I therefore hope that they will meet a warm reception whenever they make the attempt.

The military Chest is again empty and the Army is unpaid for the months of September and October, besides the drafts that are requisite for the Commissary and Quarter Master General's departments. You will therefore be pleased to direct that a supply of Cash be sent on as expeditiously as possible.

I fear, from a letter I have lately recd. from Genl. Heath, that no proper measures are taken to put up a Supply of Salt Provisions, for next Campaign, to the Eastward. I have inclosed a Copy of Genl. Heath's letter to Mr. Buchannan the Commy. Genl. of Purchases, and have desired him to have the matter looked into in time, but it is of so much importance to the very existence of the Army, that I think it deserves the attention of Congress. I have the honor etc.[33]

COUNCIL OF WAR[34]

November 8, 1777.

His Excellency having informed the Council, of the Reinforcements that were expected from Peekskill and that among them was 1600 Militia from Massachusetts under General Warner, whose times would expire the last of November.

His Excellency informed the Council, that from a variety of circumstances he was of opinion, that the Enemy mean a

[33] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets were added by Washington in the draft, which is also in Tilghman's writing.

[34] The Council was composed of Maj. Gens. John Sullivan, Nathanael Greene, Marquis de Lafayette, and Alexander McDougall, Brig. Gens. William Maxwell, Henry Knox, Anthony Wayne, George Weedon, William Woodford, Charles Scott, Thomas Conway, Jedidiah Huntington, and William Irvine.

formidable attack upon Fort Mifflin very soon, and desired their opinion whether under our present circumstances, as to Numbers &c, we could afford further assistance to the Forts than has been hitherto given, without endangering the Safety of this Army.

The following Question was put. Whether, in Case the Enemy should make an attack upon the Forts upon Delaware, it would be proper with our present Force to fall down and attack the Enemy in their Lines near Philadelphia?

Ansr. In the Negative unanimously.[35]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your Letter of the 6th Inst. and thank you for the intelligence contained in it, you will farther oblige me by communicating immediately, whatever new matter of public consequence may occur.

The importance of the post at Red Bank, makes it necessary for us to employ all possible resources in rendering it so respectable by the strength of the garrison, and the number of Troops stationed within distance to Cooperate with it, as not to fear even a more formal attack than was exhibited in the first successless efforts of the Hessians. All the men in your State that can be spared, should therefore be collected and marched to join Genl. Varnum.

Your present of Salt Water delicacies, will be the more acceptable to us in Camp, as they are so great a rarity, and, as I anticipate the pleasure they will give, I return you my thanks for them before their arrival. I am &ca.[36]

[35] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[36] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL
JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 8, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of the 6th. relieved me from much anxiety, as it was confidently reported that the firing upon the 5th was upon Fort Mifflin. I am pleased to hear of the success of your cannonade against the Shipping, and I am very certain if we had more heavy Cannon mounted upon travelling Carriages to move up and down the Beach occasionally, that we should annoy and distress them exceedingly. To possess Billingsport, as well as Red Bank, is certainly a most desirable object; but circumstanced as we are at present, in respect to numbers, it is impossible. In a Letter from Genl. Dickinson of the 6th. he informs me, that he had ordered two Detachments of Militia to march from Elizabeth Town to Red Bank, one consisting of 160 Men; he does not mention the number of the other.

I have just seen a very intelligent person from Philadelphia, he has been conversant with many people who stand high in the Confidence of the British Officers of the first Rank. He finds from all their discourse, that a formidable attack is to be made upon Fort Mifflin very soon; if that fails, they will be obliged to change their quarters, as they find they cannot subsist in the City, without they have a free communication with their Shipping. I therefore repeat what I wrote Yesterday, that you should immediately reinforce Fort Mifflin as strongly as possible, and give the Commodore notice of the intended attack. I approve of the measures you have taken to procure Clothing for the Troops. and am etc.

P. S. The inclosed for Commodore Hazelwood, Colo. Green and Lt. Colonel Smith are from Congress[37] and as they bear

[37] Congress, by resolve of November 4, presented swords to Green, Smith, and Hazelwood. (See General Orders, Nov. 11, 1777, *post*.)

honorable testimony of their behaviour hitherto, I beg they may be put into their hands immediately. perhaps it may prove a further incentive to their gallant exertions.[38]

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor, mentioning the many and strong reasons you have for quitting the Service, or at least obtaining leave of absence for the settlement of your affairs, which you say and I make no doubt are in a Situation that demand your presence. As the Contest, in which we all saw the necessity of stepping forth, still remains undetermined, and the event of War doubtful and uncertain, I conceive, that the same Motives which first called us out, now plead in the most pressing terms for our perseverance to that happy Period, in which our united Efforts shall effect that great design, for the accomplishment of which we were first induced to sacrifice the Happiness of Domestic life.

I believe the private Concerns of every Officer in the Army will suffer in a greater or lesser degree by his Absence, which must have been expected as a matter of course, at their first Acceptance of their Commissions.

As to the Strictness of Honor and integrity with which you have conducted yourself, (having never heard the least Suggestion to the Contrary) I think it unnecessary to say any thing on that Head.

I have always endeavor'd to give every Indulgence to Officers, which I thought consistent with my duty and the good of the Service; in this Instance I think matters had best be deferred to the close of the Campaign, when your request can

[38] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

in either way be answered with greater propriety and precision. I am etc.[39] [N.Y.P.L.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON

Camp at White Marsh, 12 Miles from Philadelphia,
November 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 26th. Ultimo, came to my hands Yesterday, and merits my warmest acknowledgements. The Idea you entertained of our force was unhappily but too well founded, and I now wish I had given more into your generous proposal; but the distance, and uncertainty of keeping Militia in service any length of time were obstacles under the then appearance of things which seemed too great to be counterbalanced by the advantages of your coming which opened then to our view; but the glorious turn which our affairs to the Northward have since taken, makes a new plan, and Winter Campaign, if we can get our ragged and half naked Soldiers clothed, indispensably necessary, as I think General Howe may be forced out of Philadelphia, or greatly distressed in his Quarters there, if we could draw a large body of Troops round the City.

The mode by which Men have lately been recruited, is hurtful in the extreme; and, unless a more effectual and less pernicious one can be adopted, I do not know where the mischief will end; what may be the consequence. As the Assembly of Virginia is now sitting, I hope some vigorous and spirited exertions will be used to compleat the Regiments from that State; and shall I add my wishes, that it may contribute their Aid towards Clothing of them, being well persuaded, unless the respective States give their Assistance, we shall be in a very

[39] In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

unhappy situation. If our Regiments were once compleated and tolerably well Armed and Clothed, the calls upon Militia afterwards would be rare; and 'till these measures are accomplished, our expenses will be enormous.

It is in vain to look back to our disappointment on the 4th. Instant at Germantown. We must endeavour to deserve better of Providence, and, I am persuaded, she will smile upon us. The rebuff which the Enemy met with at Red Bank (in which Count Donop and about four or 500 Hessians were killed and wounded) and the loss of the Augusta of 64 and Merlin of 18 Guns, have, I dare say, been fully related to you, which renders it unnecessary for me to dwell on it. They are using every effort for the reduction of Fort Mifflin and we, under our present circumstances, to save it. The event is left to Heaven.

With compliments to Mrs. Nelson, Mr. Secretary,[40] &c. I am etc.[41]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 3d. acquainting me with the exhausted state of your Treasury. I am just in the same situation, but have wrote to Congress for a Supply. I will in my next to them inform them of your wants, and desire them to forward a sum of money to you.

I have not the large Spy Glass, belonging to Mr. Morris, with me, I think it is at Bethlehem with my Baggage. I will write to the Officer who has the care of the Baggage, and desire him to send the Glass to you.

As Genl. Warner's[42] Brigade of Massachusetts Militia have so small a time to serve I have directed them, if the Express

[40] Thomas Nelson, son of Thomas, the emigrant. He had retired after having served as secretary of the Virginia Council for 30 years.

[41] From the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[42] Brig. Gen. Jonathan Warner.

meets them on the Road, to turn back and finish their Service with you. If they should not have marched, you will please to detain them for the Reasons just given. Wind's Brigade of Jersey Militia will scarcely reach home before their times are expired, we therefore cannot count upon them.

As the Reinforcements that have Sailed from New York are so considerable that the Enemy cannot have more force left than is barely Sufficient to keep a Garrison. I desire you will send on all the Continental Troops, except Colo. Samuel Webbs and Sherburne's Regiments and the New York Battalions, these with the Militia, will fully answer your present purposes.

If Genl. Howe is determined to remain in Philadelphia it will require a very large Detachment posted on the West side of Schuylkill to cut him off from a Communication with his Shipping. For want of an addition to our Numbers we have been under the necessity of permitting him to draw large Supplies, indeed his whole Subsistence from his Ships.

I beg you will press the Reinforcements forward, as I fear those destined for Genl. Howe will arrive before ours.

You will take care to make a demand of as many Militia as will be sufficient for your purpose, and I think, you had better do it immediately, that they may be with you by the time the present Class return home. I am etc.[43]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY

[November 9, 1777.]

Sir: A Letter which I receivd last Night, containd the following paragraph.

In a Letter from Genl. Conway to Genl. Gates he says: "Heaven has been determind to save your Country; or a weak General and bad Councellors would have ruind it."

I am Sir Yr. Hble Servt.

[43] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JONATHAN WARNER

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

Sir: As the term of Service of the Brigade of Massachusetts Militia under your command will expire with this month, it is not worth your while to march this distance to do a few days duty. I therefore desire you will return to Genl. Putnam and employ your Men, during their stay, in such manner as he shall direct. I imagine this must be more agreeable to them than coming so far from home at this season of the Year. I am etc.[44]

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

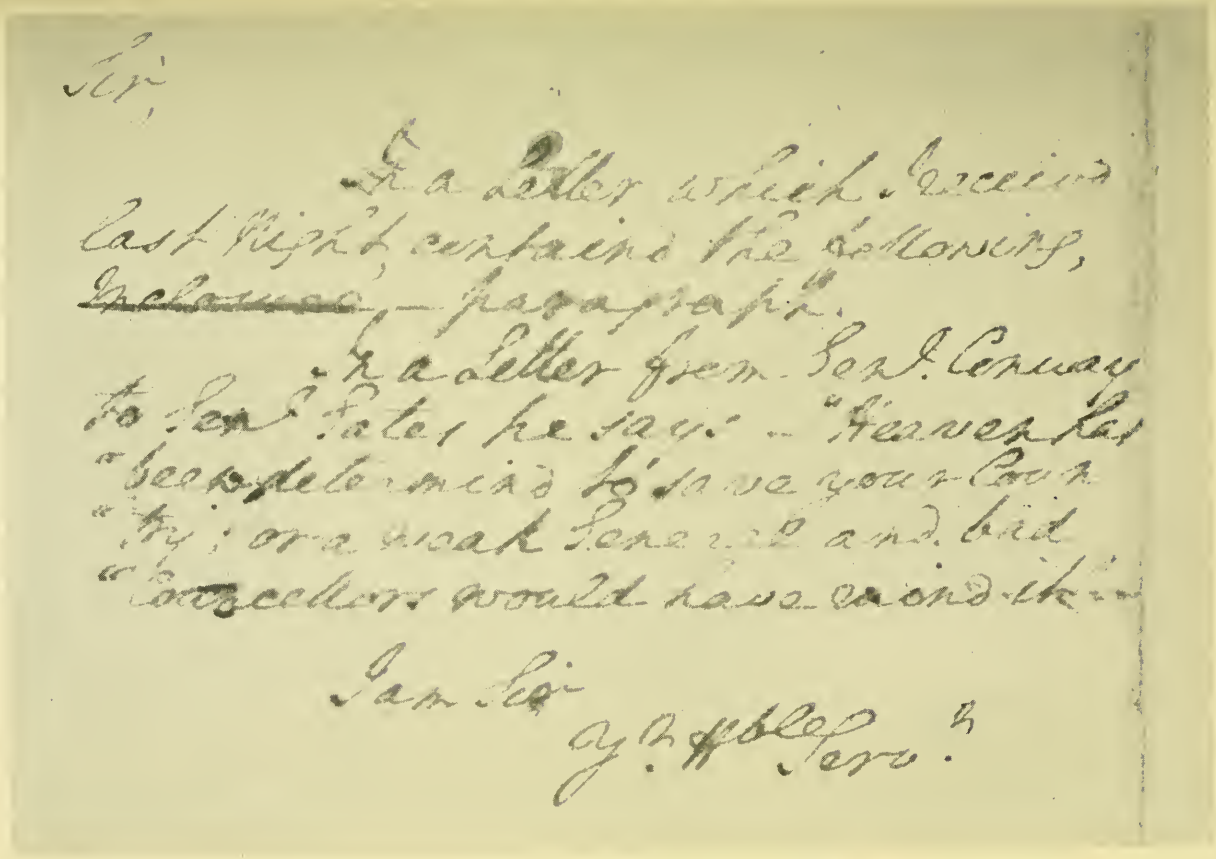
Gentlemen: I yesterday received a Letter from Congress informing me that they had received a Report from your Board with your opinion[45] upon the most probable means of securing the Frigates. Whereupon they came to the following Resolution on the 4th. instant:

> Ordered that a Copy of the said report be sent to Genl. Washington for his approbation and if he approve the same that a Detachment of troops be sent to assist in the Construction and management of the Batteries aforesaid.

Upon the receipt of this I took the opinion of the General Officers who unanimously agreed that, as we had not any men to spare to construct and defend the Works recommended by you, there were no other possible means of effectually securing the Frigates but by scutling them. You will therefore be pleased to have it done in such manner as will render the weighing of them most easy in future and in such depth of Water as will

[44] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[45] At this point in the draft the following is crossed off: "that it would be better to lighten the Frigates and float them up the River, and by taking their Guns on shore"



Sir,

In a Letter which I received last Night, contained the following, ~~Inclosed~~ — paragraph.

In a Letter from Genl. Conway to Genl. Gates he says — "Heaven has "been determind to save your Coun "try; or a weak General and bad "Councellors would have ruind it" —

I am Sir

Yr. Hble. Servt.

Washington's Draft of His Note to Conway, November 9, 1777, Which Started the Disintegration of the Conway Cabal

secure them from being damaged by the floating Ice in the Winter. All the other Vessels capable of being converted into Armed Ships should be scutled also. This should be done as speedily as possible and as secretly, for should the Enemy get notice of your intentions, I should not at all wonder at their sending up a force purposely to destroy them or bring them down. You will dispose of the men that were on Board of them as directed in my former. I am &ca.[46]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

Parole Providence. Countersigns Newport, Plymouth.

Nicholas Van Cortlandt Esqr. is appointed an Aid-de-Camp, to Major General Sullivan, and is to be respected as such.

Peter Bryan Bruin Esqr. is appointed a Volunteer Aid-de-Camp to Major General Sullivan, and is to be respected as such.

All the empty waggons, or which can be emptied without great inconvenience, are to be got ready in the several brigades, and assemble this day, at such place and hour, as the Forage Mr. General shall direct; and be disposed of by him.

The Brigadiers, and officers commanding brigades, are with as much dispatch, as possible, to have their brigades paraded, and from their own observation, take an account of the articles, of cloathing, indispensibly necessary for the men.

Many of the men who mount guard daily, make a very unsoldierlike appearance. The Adjutants and Brigade Majors will be respectively answerable, that henceforward they bring no man to the parade, whose appearance is not as decent as his circumstances will permit; having his beard shaved, hair combed, face washed and cloaths put on in the best manner in his power.

[46] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Captain Craig of Col. Moylan's regt., with his party of horse, has taken seven British dragoons, and seven soldiers, with their horses, arms, and accoutrements. The General desires Capt. Craig, Capt. Lee, and the other officers who have distinguished themselves, will accept his cordial thanks, for the enterprise, spirit and bravery they have exhibited in harassing, and making captives of the enemy.

All the General Officers in camp are to assemble, to morrow, at ten o'clock, in the forenoon, at General Greene's quarters, to settle the rations. The General Officers will attend this, in preference to any other duty, and make report as soon as they have finished it.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 10, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of yesterday, I am sorry that you construed a part of my last letter into any kind of reflection upon the exertions of your State. I could not mean it, as I am conscious they do not deserve it. As it happened from several particular Circumstances, that the two thousand Militia voted to reinforce this Army, could not leave Jersey, I meant to urge the Necessity of their Marching towards Red Bank, to maintain that Valuable post, in the preservation of which the people of Jersey are peculiarly interested. For had the Enemy possession of that, they would make inroads into all their Western Counties.

I am much pleased to hear that General Dickinson will, if he can possibly be spared, come to take the Command in Gloucester County, more especially as General Forman has resigned.

Give me leave, Sir, to congratulate you most Sincerely upon your re-election to the Government, and to assure you that I am etc.[47]

[47] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 10, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your Favors of the 4th and 5th Inst. with their several Inclosures. Among those of the former, I found the Resolution you are pleased to allude to, respecting your appointment as President.[48] Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you upon this Event, and to assure you, I have the most intire confidence, that I shall experience in you, during your Presidency, the same politeness and attention to the Interest of the States that marked the conduct of your Worthy predecessor.

With respect to the views of the Navy Board for securing the Frigates. The situation of the Army would not admit of a compliance with them, supposing they would Answer the end. I have therefore written to the Board in the most pressing terms to have the Frigates scutled in such way, that they may be raised when it shall be necessary, and that in the mean time, they may not be liable to injury from floating ice. I see no measure so likely to secure them to us and against the Enemy's attempts. I have been extremely fearful they would have possessed and employed them with the Delaware and their [floating] Batteries on the rear of the Gallies and the Fort, while the Ships below attacked in Front. I need not point out the probable consequences of such an Event, they are too obvious.

The Resolves which you request to be communicated to the Army, shall be published in General Orders. The Letters for Commodore Hazlewood &c. [Colos. Greene and Smith and for the president of Delaware state] have been put in a proper channel of Conveyance.

As to the disposition of part of the Northern Army, my Letter of the 1st continued to 3d [Current] contains my Ideas upon

[48] Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was chosen President of Congress Nov. 1, 1777, as the successor to President Hancock.

the Subject, and those of my General Officers. I shall be sorry, if the measures I have taken on this head, should interfere with, or materially vary from any plans Congress might have had in view. Their proceedings of the 5th, I presume, were founded on a supposition, that the Enemy were still up the North River and garrisoning the Forts they had taken. This not being the case, and all accounts agreeing, that Reinforcements to Genl. Howe are coming from York, I hope the aids, I have required, will be considered expedient and proper. Independant of the latter consideration, I think our exertions and force should be directed to effect Genl Howe's destruction, if it is possible.

Among the various difficulties attending the Army, the adjustment of rank, is not the least. This, owing to the several modes, the several principles that have prevailed in granting Commissions, is involved in great perplexity. The Officers of the Pennsylvania Troops are in much confusion about it. In many instances, those who were junior in rank, from local and other circumstances, have obtained Commissions older in date than those which were granted afterwards to Officers their Superiors before. This, with many other Irregularities has been, and is the cause of great uneasiness; And the precdency of rank so claimed, should not be supported in justice or upon any principle, we find all, having the least pretext for the Title, strenuous to support it and willing to hold a superiority.

I was therefore induced to order a Board of Officers, to take the matter under [their] consideration.[49] The result [after two or three days deliberation] respecting the Field Officers of this State, I now inclose, and wish Congress to adopt the Regulation which the Board have made; and to transmit me by the earliest opportunity, Commissions dated according to their

[49] The proceedings of this board, dated Aug. 19, 1777, are filed with this letter of Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

arrangement; At the same time, It may be proper that there should be a Resolve, vacating the Commissions [which] they now have and directing them to be delivered to me. Their attention to this business, I trust, will be immediate. The disputes and jealousies with the Officers require it.

I have inclosed the Memorial of Colo. Portail and the other Engineers for their promotion, referred to me by the Board of War for my sentiments [advice]. As to the Terms, these Gentlemen mention to have been proposed and agreed to, when they first arrived, I know nothing of them more than the Memorial states. In respect to their abilities and knowledge in their profession, I must observe, they have had no great [but little] Opportunity of proving them since they were in our service. However, I have reason to believe, that they have been regularly bred in this important branch of War, and that their talents, which have been hitherto, as it were, dormant, want only a proper occasion to call them forth, in which case I have no doubt they would do themselves honour and the states essential service. It is of great importance too, to consider the practicability of replacing these Gentn. with persons equally qualified, if they should quit the service, and how indespensible, men of skill in this branch of military science are to every Army. While I am on this subject, I would take the liberty to mention, that I have been well informed, that the Engineer in the Northern Army (Cosieski,[50] I think his name is) is a Gentleman of science and merit. From the character I have had of him he is deserving of notice too.

I would beg leave to mention, that we are in great distress for want of money. This will be more urgent every day, and it is probable, there will be a good deal of pay due the Troops

[50] Thaddeus Kosciuszko had been appointed a colonel of Engineers in the Continental Army Oct. 18, 1776. He was brevetted a brigadier general in 1783.

coming to reinforce us. Genl. Putnam writes pressingly for a supply and says he is in a most disagreeable situation for want of it. I must request the attention of Congress to this Subject.

Your favor of the 7th. came to hand this morning. I shall pay proper attention to the Inclosures. The Rank of the Officers of Cavalry, I will attempt to have settled, as soon as circumstances will admit.

I have nothing very interesting to communicate. The Enemy have lost One of their New floating Batteries. It sunk in a little time after it was launched. There has been a Canonade to day; it still continues. I do not know the occasion, but imagine, it is between the Ships and Gallies. I have the honor &ca.[51]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am pleased to find by yours of the 8th., that proper dispositions were formed for the reception of the Enemy at Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and that the Garrisons were so full of confidence, we already hear a firing which we suppose a prelude to something more serious. I sincerely wish you success; but let the event be fortunate or otherwise, pray let me have the speediest intelligence. I am etc.

P. S. Your Detachments are on their march from Fishkill to join you.[52]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near White Marsh, November 11, 1777.

Sir: The condition of the Army for want of Cloaths and Blankets, and the little prospect we have of obtaining relief

[51] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft, which is also by Harrison, but do not appear in the letter sent.

[52] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

according to the information I have received from the Board of War, occasion me to trouble you at this time. The mode of seizing and forcing supplies from the Inhabitants, I fear, would prove very inadequate to the demands, while it would certainly imbitter the minds of the People, and excite perhaps a hurtful jealousy against the Army. I have had Officers out for the purpose of purchasing and making voluntary collections of necessaries and in a few instances, more coercive measures have been exercised. But all these have proved of little avail. Our distresses still continue and are becoming greater. I would therefore humbly submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether it may not be expedient for them to address the Several Legislative and executive Powers of the states, on this subject, as early as possible, and in the most urgent Terms. It appears to me, If they were to appoint, under the Authority of Congress, proper active Agents, that many necessaries might be procured, in addition to those imployed[53] on Public account. Besides this, I think, the exigency of our affairs requires, that they should resolve on an immediate assessment to be made on the Inhabitants. If these modes were adopted, considerable aids might be derived, and in a way much less exceptionable, than that of seizing by the Army. The Assemblies in many states, I beleive are now sitting, and I have no doubt upon a requisition by Congress, but they will give attention to the measure.

Inclosed you will receive a Copy of a Letter from Genl. Putnam[54] which came to hand to day. You will find his and Governor Clinton's opinion, respecting the Fortifications necessary to be made for the security of the North River. As soon as I heard that Warner's Militia were coming down to reinforce me, I immediately wrote to countermand them, and directed that they should be retained to carry on the necessary works

[53] The draft has "imported."
[54] Putnam's letter, dated Nov. 7, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

during the time they are to serve. My Letter on this subject was on the 9th. Instant. As to the other Troops, the propriety of bringing them here, I believe is not to be questioned. We are told through various Channels, that Sir Henry Clinton is coming round with all the force that can be possibly spared from New York, and it is said that those on Staten Island are withdrawn. It is added also, that the Inhabitants of the former are greatly alarmed and disgusted, and that Genl. Tryon is calling in the Militia of Long Island for the defence of the City. Genl. Putnam's Letter will also evince the necessity there is for a large and immediate supply of money being sent to the Paymaster Genl.

I have also the Honor to transmit you a Copy of a Report by a Board of Genl. Officers on the subject of Rations which I submit to the consideration of Congress. The establishment and Regulations, which they propose, appear to me to be just and necessary, supposing the Commissary's estimate to be right, which I presume is the case from the exorbitant price which has been and is now paid for every species of Provision. The necessity of an alteration in the former Value, has been long urged by many Officers and for want of it several, I believe, have left the service.[55] I have the Honor etc.

P. S. By advices just received, 38 Transports have arrived in Delaware with Troops; they were as high up as Reedy Island yesterday, I suppose they are from New York. The Memorial of Colonel Portail and the other Engineers, omitted to be inclosed in my Letter of yesterday, is now transmitted.

[55] The minutes of this board, undated, are filed in the *Washington Papers* at the end of the year 1777. The board recommended that the ration be 1¼ pounds of beef, or 1 pound of pork or 1¼ pounds of salt fish; 1¼ pounds of flour, or soft bread, or 1 pound of hard bread; one-half gill of rum or whisky per day in lieu of beer; one-half pint of rice, or 1 pint of Indian meal per week; 3 pounds of candles to 100 men per week and soap agreeable to the late regulation of Congress. The price of this ration, exclusive of soap and candles, was estimated at 3 shillings 4 pence.

Notwithstanding the measures I have ventured to recommend on the subject of Cloathing, I shall pursue every means in my power, that will contribute to procure a Supply. [by sending and keeping Officers in different States][56]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Camp at White Marsh, November 11, 1777.

Sir: I have now before me your Favors of the 6th and 7th Instant. The inconveniences, arising from the allowance of Substitutes, are severely felt and I fear they will increase. I will attempt some mode to detect deserters, now in Service, under that denomination. The Public Arms furnished the Virginia Militia, were directed to be put into the hands of a number belonging to this state who joined General Potter at the time of their dismission; and whatever exceeded this supply, the Officers were enjoined to have deposited at Lancaster in their Return home. This I hope has been done.

I am extremely sorry to find, we have no prospect of obtaining Supplies of Cloathing, except by forcing them from the Inhabitants. Such a procedure, I fear, would not relieve our wants, and at the same time would greatly distress the people and imbitter their minds. I have had Several Officers employed in this State in collecting, but the quantities gained are trifling. There are some out now upon the business. It appears to me, since our public Imports are so small and precarious, owing to the numerous fleet, I presume, which lines our Coast, that no measure will be more likely to give us aid, than the establishing of proper Agents in each State, to buy every species of Cloathing they possibly can for the Army. The Supplies derived from

[56] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The phrase in brackets in the P. S. is in the draft but not in the letter sent.

hence, may be of infinite advantage and in addition to those immediately imported by Congress, will extend, considerably to lessen our Wants. The Agents I think should be active, suitable Men, appointed by the Legislative or Executive Powers of the respective States. I have addressed Congress upon the Subject. I am etc.[57]

To DANIEL CLYMER[58]

Head Quarters, November 11, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 4th. containing an apology for sending an agreeable piece of Intelligence which you have since discover'd to be false; mistakes of this kind are not uncommon and most frequently happen to those whose zeal and sanguineness allow no room for scepticism when any thing favorable to their Country is plausibly related. I beg you to be persuaded that my good opinion of you is not at all impaired by this circumstance and that I am as before, etc.[59]

[H.S.P.]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 7th. and am glad to find that you had determined to detain Warner's Militia. At whatever place Govr. Clinton and yourself determine to throw obstructions and Batteries upon the River, I imagine it will prove satisfactory, for no person is supposed to have a better knowledge of that Country than the Governor.

For the very same Reasons that Genl. Howe is reinforceing himself strongly, ought we to reinforce also, and I therefore beg that you will comply with my request of the 9th. instt. which is nearly the same of Colo. Hamilton's, namely to send

[57] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[58] Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners.
[59] In the writing of John Laurens.

all the Continentals except Colo. Samuel Webbs and Sherburne's and the New York Battalions, and I intreat they may be forwarded as quick as possible, for should Genl. Howes reinforcement arrive before them, consider what a situation this Army will be in.

I am extremely sorry to hear of the uneasiness that has happened in Genl. Poor's Brigade on account of their pay, and am amazed to hear that they have ten months due to them. This is indeed a very great hardship, and there must be a fault some where, but I hope from the prudent measures you have taken, they will be contented. I have wrote to Congress in the most pressing manner for money for your Department, and I have no doubt but you will be soon supplied.

It is very evident that the Enemy, in order to secure their remaining Army under Genl. Howe, are drawing every Man from New York, to what purpose then would it be to keep a force up the North River when there is no Enemy near, for we have certain accounts of the fleets having left the Hook. I know the people are apt to be alarmed and to think themselves deserted when they see troops drawn away from them, but I am confident they will soon find the good effects of it. I am etc.[60]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: Since I wrote to you this morning Mr. Young Deputy Clothier has arrived from Peekskill and informs me that you stopped 400 of the Blankets and one Cask of Shoes that were coming on for the use of this Army. You cannot conceive how these stoppages by the way disappoint and disarrange our plans; The Clothier General endeavours to give each their share, but by such proceedings those that are farthest

[60] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

off go naked. There are now in this Army, by a late return four thousand Men wanting Blankets, [near 2,000 of wch. have never had one, although some of them have been twelve months in Service.]

I would not wish to be partial to any part of the Army. I only desire that when Goods are ordered particularly to one Department, that they may not be detained in another, and I must insist that this Rule be invariably observed in future. [You are to consider that almost the whole of our Cloathing comes from the Eastward, consequently the stopping such parts as are intended for this Army, after a due proportion is allotted to the other Departments, is highly injurious to the Service; with truth it may be added that we have at this time upwards of 2,000 Men renderd unfit for Service for want of Cloathes.] I am etc.

P. S. The fleet that sailed from the Hook has arrived in the Delaware.[61]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favours of 9th. and 10th. Instant I have duly received, and I think we may reasonably hope, that from the good disposition of the Troops in your Quarter, and the zeal and activity of the Officers and men, joined to the present very advanced and cold Season, which must greatly retard, if not prevent the operations of the Enemy; Matters may terminate with you agreeable to our Expectations, this must have the greatest influence upon the conduct of Genl. Howe and force him to adopt disadvantageous or disgraceful measures.

Genl. Knox informs me, that he has sent down a person to get an exact return of the Ammunition which you now have,

[61] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The parts in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

and of what may be wanted, and that he has sent down 17 Waggons loaded with Ball, which you will receive about this time. A Waggon with 20,000 Musket Cartridges will be immediately dispatched, to be delivered to the Militia (if you see fit) by your order only. It is greatly to be wished that all firing could be prevented, except where there is a real necessity and the distance such as might promise a good effect.

I have wrote to Genl. Potter, ordering him to take every step by which he can assist you and distress the Enemy on Province Island. he may alarm them and draw off their attention from Fort Mifflin if nothing more. You are acquainted with the reasons why a greater force is not sent to annoy them in that quarter. I am &ca.[62]

To EPHRAIM BLAINE

Head Quarters, November 11, 1777.

Sirs: This is to signify to you my express order that no time be lost in writing to the Commissary's Department in New England and procuring from thence the Wine and Spirits wanted for the use of this Army. I have received a Letter from Genl. Putnam in which he mentions that he is doing all in his power to send forward Provisions according to my direction. I am &ca.[63]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 11, 1777.

Parole Hudson. Countersigns Delaware, Schuylkill.

The Honorable Continental Congress have passed the following resolves, which have been transmitted hither to be made public in the army. vizt:

In Congress, November 4th, 1777.

Resolved—That His Excellency Governor Caswell of North Carolina be requested to erect a monument of the value of five hundred dollars,

[62] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[63] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

at the expence of these United States, in honor of the memory of Brigadier General Francis Nash, who fell in the battle of Germantown, on the 4th. day of October 1777, bravely contending for the Independence of his country.

Resolved—That the thanks of Congress, in their own name, and in behalf of the inhabitants of The Thirteen United States, be presented to Major General Gates, commander in Chief, in the northern department, and to Major Generals Lincoln and Arnold, and the rest of the officers, and troops under his command, for their brave, and successful efforts, in support of the Independence of their country; whereby an army of the enemy of ten thousand men, has been totally defeated; one large detachment of it strongly posted and entrenched having been conquered at Bennington, another repulsed with loss and disgrace from Fort Schuyler, and the main army of six thousand men, under Lieut. General Burgoyne, after being beaten in different actions, and driven from a formidable post, and strong entrenchments, reduced to the necessity of surrendering themselves, upon terms honorable and advantageous to these States, on the 17th. day of October last, to Major General Gates; And that a medal of gold be struck, under the direction of the Board of war, in commemoration of this great event, and in the name of these United States presented by the president to Major General Gates.

Resolved—That Congress have a high sense of the merit of Colo. Greene, and the officers and men under his command, in the late gallant defence of the Fort at Red bank, on Delaware river; and that an elegant sword be provided by the Board of war, and presented to Col. Greene.

Resolved—That Congress have a high sense of the merit of Lieut. Col. Smith, and the officers and men under his command, in their late gallant defence of fort Mifflin, on the river Delaware; and that an elegant sword be provided by the Board of war, and presented to Lt. Col. Smith.

Resolved—That Congress have a high sense of the merit of Commodore Hazlewood, the Commander of the naval force in the river Delaware; in the service of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and of the officers and men under his command, in their late gallant defence of their country, against the British Fleet, whereby two of their Men of war were destroyed, and four others compelled to retire; and that an elegant sword be provided by the Marine Committee, and presented to Commodore Hazlewood.

To JAMES MEASE[64]

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 12, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 4th. inclosing returns of the Clothing that has been delivered and what you are now sending on to Camp. If I understand you, it is all that you have on hand made or unmade. If this is so, our prospects are Melancholy indeed, except considerable quantities are expected from abroad, or are on some other part of the Continent. Of these I shall be glad to be informed by the first opportunity. Mr. Young informs me, that he saw all the Blankets and Shoes that are coming from the Eastward (except 400 Blankets and 1 Cask of Shoes stopped by Genl. Putnam) over the North River, there is therefore no occasion to send an Officer for them. I have wrote to Genl. Putnam upon this constant practice of stopping part of the Clothing at Peekskill that is intended for this Army, and I hope he will not do it in future.

I can easily account for the nine old Virginia Regiments calling more frequently upon you for Clothing than any others, they were the whole winter in the Field and were reduced almost to nakedness.

Genl. Woodford complains, that he lately wrote you a polite letter requesting necessaries for his Brigade, which he sent by an Officer, to which he says you only returned him a rough verbal answer, without complying with his demand even in part. As General Woodford is an exceeding good Officer and one who I think would not make extravagant or unnecessary demands, I could wish you would clear up this matter to his satisfaction.

From the success which many Officers and others who I have sent out have had, I am convinced that there are large quantities of Shoes, leather Breeches and other Articles of Clothing in the hands of the makers or people who have bought them

[64] Clothier General of the Continental Army.

up to make a market by monopolizing them, these I have taken wherever they were to be found. I must therefore intreat you Sir to employ people in the same business, and where they find Goods suitable for the Army, if the owners will not part with them, I will engage, by the powers vested in me by Congress, to compell them.

I know not upon what terms the Commissary of Hides has disposed of all that have gone thro' his hands? But I should suppose in many instances to return wrought leather for them. This should be inquired into, and when the leather is obtained, proper steps should be taken to have it worked up. I am certain that the Hides of the Cattle that are consumed by the Army were returned in leather, they would much more than shoe the soldiers.

In short, it lays with you to set every Engine at work to procure such articles of Clothing as are of our own produce, and to have Agents ready to purchase all that is imported. The Members of the secret Committee must take care to engage what can be imported from abroad. I have wrote to Congress and urged to them the necessity of calling upon each state to collect what Clothing can be obtained among themselves. But I think it highly necessary that you should repair to York Town and press them to delay no time in carrying a matter of this kind into execution, and you may with truth assure them, that unless some mode of this sort is adopted, or they have a certainty of Clothing from abroad, that it will be impossible for the Army to exist. I am &ca.[65]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 12, 1777.

Parole Kensington. Countersigns Lancaster, Marshfield.

The Honorable Continental Congress have been pleased to pass the following Resolve, concerning the opinion of the

[65] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Court of enquiry, published in General Orders, the 16th. Ult. relative to General Sullivan.

In Congress—October 20th, 1777.

Resolved—That the result of the Court of enquiry into the expedition of Staten Island, so honorable to the character of General Sullivan is highly pleasing to Congress, and that the opinion of the said court be published in justification of the injured character of that officer.

It appears that some regiments are destitute of necessary cloathing, altho', they have been supplied with full suits allowed by Congress. This must have arisen, at least in part, from the inattention of the officers, in not taking lists of their men's necessaries, examining them weekly, agreeable to General Orders, and calling delinquents to a severe account for what was missing. This, under our circumstances, is a neglect of the worst kind, and most fatal tendency, and demands a speedy and effectual remedy. And altho' the articles delivered the men, beyond the stated allowance, be charged to them, yet, in our situation this does not lessen the evil complained of. The Commander in Chief therefore most seriously, and positively requires, the officers commanding companies, after taking exact lists of their men's necessaries, to examine them critically, once a week, agreeably to the General Orders formerly issued; and if any noncommissioned officer, or soldier, shall sell, willfully destroy, or carelessly lose, any of his necessaries, he is to be severely punished at the discretion of a Court Martial. This is a matter of so very important a nature, the Commander in Chief expects that the officers will pay the most exact attention to it; and that the General Officers, and others commanding brigades will see this order carefully and regularly complied with. It appears also, that many men who go into the hospitals well clad, are in a manner naked when they get well, and cannot return to their regiments 'till new-cloathed. To prevent a continuance of this evil and that the guilty may be known and punished no men henceforward are to be sent to the hospitals,

without lists of the companies and regiments they belong to, and of every article of their cloathing; those lists to be signed by the Captains, or officers commanding those Companies, and transmitted to the surgeons of the hospitals to which the sick are sent: And if any men are sent to the hospitals without such lists, the officers sending them shall be punished for their neglect at the discretion of a General Court Martial; And for this end the surgeons of the hospitals are, as soon as possible to send a report of such officers to the Adjutant General. And that the arms and accoutrements of such sick may not be lost, or damaged, they are agreeably to the General Orders lately issued, to be delivered to the regimental Quarter Masters, and by them without delay to the Commissary of military stores, and never carried with the sick to the hospitals.

AFTER ORDERS

The waggons in each brigade which are empty, or can conveniently be emptied, are to parade this evening at such place as the Forage Master General shall direct.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, 1 OClock P. M.,
November 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am sorry to find from yours of Yesterday, that the fire of the Enemy had made so great an impression upon the Works of Fort Mifflin, that you thought an evacuation would be necessary. As I have not yet heard that the measure was determined upon, I hope it is not carried into execution. If it is not, it is the unanimous opinion of a Council of General Officers now setting,[66] that the Fort be held to the last extremity, and

[66] No record of this council of war is found in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It is possible that the council of November 8 continued to sit daily. (See Council of War, Nov. 8, 1777, *ante*.)

to enable the commanding Officer to do this, that you immediately withdraw all the invalids and fatigued Men and fill up their places with the most fresh and robust, and that the troops in Garrison be often exchanged that they may by that mean obtain rest. It seems a settled point, that the Enemy will not Storm, while the Works are kept in tolerable repair and there is an appearance of force upon the Island, and I therefore would have you endeavour to prevail upon the Militia to go over at night, when there is a cessation of firing and work till day light. You may give them the most positive assurances that it is not meant to keep them there against their consent. This would greatly relieve the Continental Troops, and by these means a great deal of work might be done. We are now thinking if there is any possibility of attacking the Enemy in reverse and thereby raising the Seige, if it can be done with any probability of success. Therefore endeavour to hold the Island till the practicability of that measure at least is determined upon. Spare palisadoes and a number of Fascines should be cut and a constant supply sent over to the Island. I am etc.[67]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

November 12, 1777.

Sir: I last night received your favour of the 10th. instt. and am sorry to find the Enemy's Batteries had played with such success against our Works. Nevertheless, I hope they will not oblige you to evacuate them. They are of the last importance, and I trust will be maintained till the latest extremity. I have written to Genl. Varnum to afford you immediate succour by sending fresh Troops to releive those now in Garrison, and also such numbers of Militia, as he may be able to prevail on to go to your assistance. With these, every exertion should be used for

[67] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

repairing in the night whatever damage the Works may sustain in the day. The Militia are principally designed for this end, and they are to be permitted to return every morning to Red Bank, if such shall be their choice. Genl. Varnum will furnish all the Fascines and palisadoes he can. You may rest assured, I will adopt every means our situation will admit of to give you relief. I am &ca.[68]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, 5 O'Clock P. M., November 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: Since I wrote to you at one OClock this day Yours dated twelve last Night came to hand. This has occasioned an alteration in the sentiments of myself and the council who find it impossible, from your representation, to give timely relief to the Fort. We therefore are now of opinion, that the Cannon and Stores ought immediately to be removed and every thing put into a disposition to remove totally at a minute's warning; but as every day that we can hold even the Island, is so much time gained, I would recommend a party to be left, who might find good Shelter behind the ruined Works, and when they abandon, they should set fire to the Barracks and all remaining buildings. If this was done upon a flood tide, the Enemy could not come out of Schuylkill with Boats to put the fire out, or to intercept the passage of the Garrison. If what works remain could be blown up, or otherways effectually destroyed before evacuation, it would take the Enemy so much more time and labour to make a lodgment upon the Island.

Be pleased to communicate this to Colo. Smith and let him know I received his of Yesterday. I hope his wound is not dangerous. I am &ca.[69]

[68] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[69] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, November 12, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have your favr. of the 10th and am only sorry that I did not sooner know my request of Sinking the Frigates had been complied with. The delay of the Resolve of Congress from the time you first applied for their advice, was what led me into a Mistake, and I am obliged to you for the genteel manner in which you excuse me. I am perfectly satisfied with the Measures which you have taken, to secure the Shipping and desire when you have no further occasion for the men that they may be disposed of as directed in my former Letters. I am etc.[70]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

White Marsh, 12 Miles from Phila., November 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: I shall beg leave to refer you to a Letter of mine which accompanies this, and of equal date, for a general account of our situation and wants. The design of this, is only to inform you, (and with great truth I can do it, strange as it may seem) that the Army which I have had under my immediate command, has not, at any one time since General Howe's Landing at the Head of Elk, been equal in point of numbers to his. In ascertaining this, I do not confine myself to Continental Troops, but comprehend Militia.

The disaffected and Lukewarm in this State, of which unhappily it too much abounds, taking advantage of the distraction in the Government, prevented those vigorous exertions which an invaded State ought to have yielded; and the short term for which their Militia was drawn out, expiring before others could be got in, and before the Maryland Militia (which, by the bye,

[70] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

were few in number, and did not join 'till after the battle of Brandy Wine) came up, our numbers kept nearly at a stand, and I was left to fight two Battles, in Order, if possible, to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed the Army of my Antagonist, whilst the World has given us at least double. This, though mortifying in some points of view, I have been obliged to encourage; because, next to being strong, it is best to be thought so by the Enemy, and to this cause principally, I think, is to be attributed the slow movements of General Howe.

How different the case in the Northern department! There the States of New York and New England, resolving to crush Mr. Burgoyne, continued pouring in their Troops, 'till the surrender of that Army; at which time, not less than 14,000 Militia were actually (as I have been informed) in General Gates's Camp,[71] and these composed, for the most part, of the best Yeomanry in the Country well armed, and, in many instances, supplied with provisions of their own carrying. Had the same spirit pervaded the People of this and the Neighbouring States, we might before this, have had General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne, with this difference, that the former would never have been out of reach of his Ships, whilst the latter encreased his danger every step he took, having but one retreat in case of a disaster, and that blocked up by a respectable force.

My own difficulties, in the course of this Campaign, have been not a little encreased, by the extra aid of Continental Troops which the gloomy prospect of our affairs in the North,

[71] Gates's return of Oct. 17, 1777, shows a force of 7,716 Continentals and 3,382 militia, a total of 11,098. Burgoyne's return, the same date, shows 2,901 British and 1,792 Hessians, a total of 4,693. Burgoyne in his *State of the Expedition* gives a Gates return of 18,624 and Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History,* vol. 6, p. 311, makes the total loss of the British in the entire campaign, counting Bennington and elsewhere, 9,583. Both the Gates and Burgoyne returns are in the *Gates Papers* in the New York Historical Society.

immediately after the reduction of Ticonderoga, induced me to spare from this Army: But it is to be hoped, that all will yet end well. If the cause is advanced, indifferent is it to me, where, or in what Quarter it happens. The Winter Season, with the Aid of our Neighbours, may, possibly, bring some important event to pass. I am etc.[72]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 13, 1777.

Sir: I was, two days ago, honored with your favors of the 29th and 30th. October. I wish it were in my power to keep up a more regular Correspondence with the different States, but being exceedingly pressed by a variety of Business,[73] I am often under the necessity of being deficient in that respect. Since the engagement at Germantown, no material alteration has happened in the situation of the two Armies, Genl. Howe has withdrawn himself close within his lines round Philadelphia, and we have fallen down with the Main Body of the Army to this place about 13 Miles from Philadelphia; our light parties are much nearer and cut off all communication between the Country and City. I am in daily expectation of a Reinforcement from the Northern Army, and General Howe has drawn the principal part of his force from New York. Happy would it be for the liberties of this Country, could a sufficient head of Men be suddenly Collected, to give a fatal Blow to the remainder of her oppressors, now drawn together in such a situation, that it would be impossible to make a retreat after the Delaware is rendered un-navigable by Frost. Since the Enemy took possession

[72] From the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[73] At this point in the draft the following is crossed off: "and thinking that the intelligence which I transmitted to Congress is communicated by the Delegates to their respective Constituents,"

of Philadelphia their whole attention has been paid to the reduction of Fort Mercer upon the Jersey Shore and Fort Mifflin situated upon a small Island in the Delaware. These two posts defend the Chevaux de frize. In an attack upon the former on the 22d last Month, the Enemy lost Count Donnop and about 400 Men, killed, wounded and prisoners and the following day in an Attack by Water upon Fort Mifflin, the Augusta of 64 Guns took fire and blew up and the Merlin of 18, getting on ground; was burnt by her own people. As their land Batteries against Fort Mifflin had long proved ineffectual, we were in hopes that it would baffle all their attempts, but a few days ago they opened a new Battery within five hundred yards, the Metal of which was so heavy, that it has demolished the greatest part of our Works and I fear we shall be obliged to evacuate it totally. This will be a great disadvantage to us, as the Enemy will not only get up supplies from their Fleet by means of small Vessels, but they will be enabled to annoy our Fleet which lay above the Chevaux de frize. This I think is a pretty exact state of our Military operations up to this time.

As we have no immediate occasion for Col. Harrison's Regimt. of Artillery, I would advise that they should be innoculated as soon as circumstances will admit and held ready to march, when the service requires them.

The recruiting of our Continental Battalions, is a thing of so much importance, that I wish it were in my Power to point out a mode which will fully Answer the end. To attempt to inlist on the bounty allowed by Congress, is fruitless, as the amazing Sums given for Substitutes in the Militia, induces all those, who would otherwise have gone into the Continental service, to prefer a line in which neither duty or discipline is severe; and in which they have a chance of having the bounty repeated three or four times a year. To this fatal source, is owing the ill

success of recruiting from one end of the Continent to the other. In my former letters to you upon this Subject, I mentioned drafting, as the only feasible method left, and I am still of the same opinion, but how to make this expedient, disagreeable in its nature and appearance, relished by the people, I will not undertake to determine. There would be a degree of Severity, in obliging the person on whom the lot should fall, to serve at all events, and if he was allowed to find a Man in his stead, the price which these kind of Substitutes for the War would ask for themselves, would in all probability amount to an enormous Sum. Thus you see, Sir, there are difficulties on all Sides, but I trust, if your Legislature think fit to adopt the plan upon the hint I have dropped, that their wisdom will point out a mode adequate to the end proposed and agreeable to the genius of the people, who are to be the objects of it.

There is another matter of as much importance and no less difficult than the raising of the Soldier, and that is the Cloathing of him. Our importations from abroad are so uncertain from the Number of the Enemy's Cruizers that infest our Coasts that we can Scarcely count upon any Supplies thro' that Channel, and the Stock of Goods that were upon hand are so nearly consumed, that I look with the greatest concern, upon the Sufferings of the Soldiers for the remainder of this year; and as for the next I view them as naked, except Some measures can be fallen upon to collect from the Inhabitants of the different States part of their Stock of Cloathing, which I fear is but Scanty. In this State very great Collections have been and are now making, and I have sent Officers to Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, with the most pressing Letters to the respective Governors, to give what assistance they can in procuring Necessaries for their Troops. Blankets, Shoes and Stockings are most immediately wanted, but Cloathing of any kind would

be acceptable at this inclement Season, and more especially as we have the greatest prospect of a Winter Campaign.

I hope you will recommend this warmly to your Assembly, and I am certain that if they would immediately lay a very moderate Assessment upon the different Counties, that enough would soon be procured, without being felt by the inhabitants to make the number of Men, which your State has in the field, comfortable. But all depends upon its being done speedily, or the Season will be past, before the Supply arrives.

The time, for which the original Men of the nine old Virginia Regiments were raised, will expire in February and from that to April; and it is much to be doubted, whether they will reinlist upon the common Bounty, if at all. They will be a loss to the service as they are seasoned soldiers and well acquainted with their duty. The Officers commanding the Regiments, proposed as an inducement to the Men to reinlist, to permit them to go home about Christmas and remain there till March, if your numbers would admit of this, or the situation of the Enemy was such that we could conveniently withdraw ourselves into winter Quarters. I would chearfully comply with their request, for the sake of engaging the Men again, but I fear they cannot be spared. I mention this, lest your legislature in calculating the number of Men wanting to make up your Quota. should count upon the Men of the nine Regiments before mentioned, thro' inadvertency. I have the Honor etc.[74]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, November 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: In my Letter of the 5th. in answer to yours of the 22d. Ulto. I mentioned, that it was not our interest to expedite

[74] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the passage of the prisoners to England. Upon a review of the matter, I am more and more convinced of the propriety of the observation. The most scrupulous adherence on the part of the Enemy to the Convention of Saratoga, will justify their placing the prisoners in Garrisons, as soon as they arrive in Britain, and will enable the Ministry to send out an equal Number of Troops to reinforce Genl. Howe, or upon any other service against these States. This being the case, policy and a regard to our own Interest, are strongly opposed to our adopting or pursuing any measures to facilitate their embarkation and passage Home, which are not required of us by the Capitulation. If by our exertions these ends are promoted, our generosity will be rewarded, in the arrival of as large a Force, by the end of March or early in April, for the purposes suggested above. These considerations lead me to observe, that it is highly probable, Genl. Burgoyne will apply to you or perhaps to the Council of the State, to dispense with the Articles of Convention, so far as they respect the port for their embarkation, and to change it from Boston to some place in Rhode Island or in the Sound. I know he has received a hint upon the Subject from Genl. Howe. Should such a requisition be made, it ought not to be complied with upon any principles whatever. It cannot be asked as a matter of right, because by the Articles Boston is assigned as the port. It can not be granted as a matter of Favor, because the indulgence will be attended with most obvious and capital disadvantages to us. Besides the delay which will necessarily arise from confining them to Boston, as the place of departure, their Transports in a voyage round at this Season may probably suffer considerable injury and many of them may be blown as far as the West Indies. These considerations and others needless to be added have struck me in so important a

point of view, that I have thought it expedient to write you by Express. Captn. Vallancy[75] who came with Genl. Burgoyne's dispatches, left this on his return Yesterday morning, and I make no doubt, in a little time after his arrival, Genl. Burgoyne will request the port of embarkation to be altered. Independent of the impolicy of granting the requisition, It appears to me, that none have authority to do it but Congress themselves. I am etc.[76]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 13, 1777.

Sir: I wrote you two Letters yesterday, the first contained positive orders to maintain the Fort on Mud Island at all events; the second, in consequence of subsequent advices from you, gave discretionary powers to evacuate the post, and a Copy of it was sent to guard against miscarriage. I refer you to its contents and repeat that I would have a show of defence kept up, as long as possible, by such a number of Men as you shall judge necessary; the importance of delaying the farther progress of the Enemy and preventing their making a lodgement on the Island, is too obvious to need my insisting upon it. In addition to the perseverance of the Garrison, I think an Enterprise of a more active nature might be carried into execution in concert with a Detachment from the Fleet, I mean a descent upon Province Island for the purpose of spiking the Enemy's Cannon and levelling their Batteries, which would considerably embarrass the Enemy and gain us a great deal of time; this is proposed however, only by way of consulting you upon the

[75] Capt. George Preston Vallancy, of the Sixty-second Foot and assistant quartermaster general, convention troops, British Army.

[76] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, also in the writing of Harrison, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The differences are inconsequential.

subject, you will be best able being on the spot, to judge of the practicability of such a Scheme. Volunteers and picked Men would be most likely to do this Service effectually, and as a stimulus to their courage and exertions, I promise ample Rewards in case of success. I would have Fort Mercer strengthened, as much as circumstances will allow, it may be put in such a condition as to require a greater Sacrifice than the Enemy can afford to make in attempting it. I am &ca.

P. S. present my Compliments to Colo. Smith; the contents of his Letter are fully answered by this to you.[77]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 13, 1777.

The weight of the Enemy's Fire upon Fort Mifflin has made such an impression upon the works that I think it more than probable that the Garrison will soon be obliged to evacuate it totally, altho' I have directed them to keep up a show of possession as long as possible. I should be glad to know whether it will be possible for you to remain at or near your present station with the fleet after our people have totally evacuated the Island and the Enemy have taken possession? or whether it will be in your power to hinder them from erecting new Works upon the Island by the Fire of your ships Floating Batteries and Gallies? If this can be done, and we can keep possession of the Jersey Shore three weeks longer, we may possibly hinder them from getting a clear passage thro' the chevaux de frize this winter, which to us is the most desirable event. They have already carr'd some of their smaller vessels such as Brigs and Sloops, between the Island, and into the Schuylkill. I confess myself unable to give you any advice as to the dispositions of the Navy,

[77] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

supposing the Enemy in possession of Mud Island, and shall therefore be glad to have the opinion of yourself and officers upon the subject. I am, etc.[78]

To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

White Marsh, 12 Miles from Philadelphia,
November 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the twenty sixth ultimo came to my hands in due course of post. I observe what you say respecting the renting of Claiborne's. It is not my wish to let it for any longer term than your mamma inclines to, and at no rate, for her life, unless it is perfectly agreeable to her. This I did conceive would have been the case (as I think she informed me) to you; but if it is not, I am equally well pleased. I am very well convinced that I can, when time will permit me to attend to my own business, readily rent the place for my own interest in it, as there are many that wish for it. If there is but tolerable good grounds to suspect that the distemper will get among my cattle at Claiborne's, I shall be glad if you would desire Mr. Hill,[79] when you next write to him, to dispose of them if he can (provided he also coincides with you in opinion).

It is much to be wished that a remedy could be applied to the depreciation of our currency. I know of no person better qualified to do this than Colonel Mason,[80] and shall be very happy to hear that he has taken it in hand. Long have I been persuaded of the indispensable necessity of a tax for the purpose of sinking the paper money, and why it has been delayed better politicians than I must account for. What plan Colonel Mason may have in contemplation for filling up the Virginia regiments I know not, but certain I am that this is a measure than can not

[78] In private hands. It was sold at auction in 1912.
[79] James Hill, overseer.
[80] Col. George Mason.

be dispensed with, nor ought not under any pretext whatsoever. I hope Colonel Mason's health will admit his attendance on the Assembly, and no other plea should be offered, much less received by his constitutents.

It is perfectly agreeable, too, that Colonel Baylor[81] should share part of the privateer. I have spoken to him on the subject; he still continues in the same mind, and will write to you on the subject. I shall therefore consider myself as possessing one fourth of your full share, and that yourself, Baylor, L. Washington,[82] and I are equally concerned in the share you at first held.

The only articles of intelligence worth communicating I have written to your mamma, and refer you to that letter. We have an account, indeed, which seems to gain credit, that Weeks,[83] with a squadron of ships fitted out of the French ports, under continental colors, had taken fifty three homeward bound West Indiamen (chiefly from Jamaica) in the English channel;[84] that Lord Stormont was recalled from the court of France; and war expected every moment between France and Britain. God send it.

Give my love to Nelly, and be assured that with sincere regard I remain, dear Sir, your most affectionate.[85]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Sir: I have reason to beleive, that on the return of Captn. Vallancy, who is now on his way to Boston, Genl. Burgoyne will apply to have the place assigned for the embarkation of

[81] Lieut. Col. George Baylor.
[82] Lund Washington.
[83] Capt. Lambert Wickes, of the Continental Navy.
[84] Wickes in the *Reprisal,* Capt. Henry Johnson in the *Lexington,* and Capt. Samuel Nicholson in the *Dolphin.* They captured some 20 prizes in all.
[85] The text is from George Washington Parke Custis's *Recollections of Washington.*

the prisoners, changed from Boston to Rhode Island or some part of the Sound. I know Genl. Howe has suggested to him an Idea of the sort. I cannot say to whom his application may be. But for the most striking and obvious reasons it should not be complied with. As a matter of right, it cannot be demanded, because Boston is the post assigned by the convention for their departure. As a matter of favor, it cannot be granted, because the indulgence would operate greatly to our prejudice. If they should be allowed to embark at either of the places suggested by Mr. Howe, it will be but a short time before they arrive in Britain, when they will immediately be sent into Garrisons and the Troops now there instantly ordered to join him; or upon some other service against the States.[86] But if they are confined to Boston, it is more than probable, that some months will elapse before they can depart. You know the difficulties of a Coasting voyage at this season and that their Transports in going round may suffer greatly and perhaps may be blown as far as the West Indies. I have written to Genl. Heath upon the Subject lest he might on a sudden application consent to the measure. I am persuaded the impropriety would strike you at

[86] "I have never entertained the smallest Idea, that General Burgoyne should be permitted to Change the port of Embarkation, or that the least Variation of the Spirit. and Letter of the Convention, would be indulged to the Troops under his Command. There is no doubt, but the British Regiments upon their Arrival in England, will be Ordered to do Duty there, but The Germans cannot, by the Laws serve in Great Britain, or Ireland. If General Burgoyne has any Sinister design, what I suggested to Congress, in my Letter of the 10th Instant, a Copy of which I conclude your Excellency has received, will be a good Method of delaying, if not finally preventing the Execution of his project."—*Gates to Washington,* Nov. 23, 1777. Gates's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

In his letter to Congress (November 10) Gates justified his stupid terms to Burgoyne on the absurd grounds that there would be very few British soldiers to embark, as a great many of them had deserted on their march to Boston and that many more would do so; but this was a situation Gates could not possibly have thought of when he signed the convention. Gates advised Congress that it would be justifiable to delay embarking the convention troops "should Sir William Howe still Obstinately refuse to settle an equitable Cartel, for the Exchange of Prisoners." This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

once in case of a requisition, but I thought it expedient nevertheless to apprize you of the probability of such being made. Besides the advantages I have pointed out from their being delayed, there are many more, needless for me to add. I am etc.[87]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To COLONEL DAVID MASON

Head Quarters, at White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Sir: The Congress having been pleased to refer the proceedings and Sentence of a Court Martial against John Moore,[88] to my determination, I have thought proper to remit the punishment decreed against him. You will therefore order him to be released from Confinement and to join his Regiment or some Recruits coming to join the same. I have inclosed his pardon. I am etc.[89]

To ROBERT ERSKINE[90]

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Sir: I shall be glad to know, by return of the Bearer, whether the portable ovens[91] bespoke last Summer are finished. If they are, you may send them down to the Army if you can procure Waggons; if you cannot, let me know and I will order the Qr. Mr. General to send for them.

Be pleased to let me know when you think you will be able to enter upon any of the duties of the Office which I spoke to you about last Summer.[92] I am, etc.[93]

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[87] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[88] John More (Moore), a deserter from the Fourth Virginia Regiment.

[89] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[90] Geographer and Surveyor General of the Continental Army.

[91] Bake ovens, which were made of sheet iron.

[92] Erskine answered this letter on November 24, stating that 24 ovens had been delivered to Thomas Mifflin at Pompton and Morristown, and that 4 were sent to New Windsor, N. Y. He reported that he was busy surveying in the Highlands for Governor Clinton and would be ready to take up his duties as surveyor general in April. Erskine's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[93] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, November 14, 1777.

Sir: I am sorry to find, by the tenor of your Letter of the 6th. instant, that we still unhappily differ in our Ideas of those just and reasonable Terms, upon which a General exchange of Prisoners might take place, and that an event, so desireable, is, probably, yet at a distance. This being the case, that relief to the unhappy, where it is practicable, may no longer be delayed, I am induced to accede to your proposition made thro' Lieut. Col. Frazer, "That the Officers who are Prisoners of War, on both sides, should be released, and have Liberty to return among their Friends on Parole." I shall expect your Answer, as soon as possible, upon this Subject, after which I shall immediately give the necessary Orders for the return of your Officers to such places as you appoint. At the same Time I wish, that their exchange may appear to you, as it does to me, the more eligible mode of release. Notwithstanding what I have said, if the interpretation I have given your Letter, does not correspond with your own meaning, and you are disposed to proceed to an Exchange of all the Prisoners in your possession, for an equal number of those in my hands, without regard to the dispute subsisting between us, I shall be happy to adopt the measure. I therefore request an explanation of the third paragraph of your Letter where you say "those at present Prisoners with me are ready to be delivered on the shortest notice, and it rests solely with you to justify me in doing it."

In respect to the charge against Mr. Boudinot, the inclosed paper will shew he has not failed to represent to Mr. Loring, the wants of the Prisoners in our hands. That these may be supplied, I shall upon your application grant passports to such persons (not above the rank of a Regimental Quarter Master) as you may send out with necessaries for them.

You call upon me to redress the Grievances of several of your Officers and Men, who you are pleased to say "you are well informed are most injuriously and unjustifiably loaded with Irons." If there is a single instance of a Prisoner of War being in Irons, I am ignorant of it, nor can I find, on the most minute inquiry, that there is the least foundation for the charge. On the contrary, I have every reason to believe, that your Officers and Men who are prisoners with us, are experiencing a very different Treatment. I wish you to particularize the cases you allude to, that relief may be had if the complaints are well founded, and the character and conduct of the Persons shall not forbid it.

Now we are upon the subject of Grievances, I am constrained to observe, that I have a variety of Accounts, not only from Prisoners who have made their escape, but from persons who have left Philadelphia, that our Private Soldiers in your hands, are treated in a manner shocking to humanity, and that many of them must have perished thro' hunger, had it not been for the charitable contributions of the Inhabitants. It is added in aggravation, that this Treatment is to Oblige them to inlist in the Corps you are raising. The Friends of these unhappy men, call daily upon me for their relief, and the people at large insist on retaliating upon those in our possession. Justice demands it. However before I would proceed to a measure my feelings recoil at, I thought it right to mention the facts to you, and I would propose, that I may be allowed to send a suitable person into the city, under the usual restrictions, to examine into the Truth of them.

I must also remonstrate against the cruel treatment and confinement of our Officers. This I am informed is not only the case of those in Philadelphia, but of many in New York. Whatever plausible pretences may be urged to Authorize the Condition of the Former, It is certain, but few circumstances can arise to justify that of the latter.

I appeal to you to redress these several Wrongs, and you will remember, whatever hardships the Prisoners with us may be subjected to, will be chargeable on you: At the same time it is but justice to observe, that many of the cruelties exercised towards Prisoners, are said to proceed from the inhumanity of Mr. Cunningham[94] Provost Martial, without your knowledge or approbation. I am etc.

P. S. just as I was about to close my Letter, two persons, men of Reputation, came from Philadelphia. I transmit you their Depositions respecting the treatment they received while they were your Prisoners. I will not comment upon the Subject. It is too painful.[95]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Parole Bedford. Countersigns Cambridge, Dartmouth.

The Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades who have not completed their cloathing returns, according to the General Orders of the 9th. instant, are to do it without the smallest delay; And all the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades are to meet together to morrow at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at General Huntington's quarters, to compare the wants of their brigades, and agree on the manner in which the cloathing shall be distributed. The wants of Col. Morgan's Rifle Corps, and others not included in the Brigade Returns, are to be in like manner considered. Mr. Kemper[96] the Deputy Clothier General, is to attend the meeting and take the directions of the Board for the present and future distribution. A considerable

[94] William Cunningham, British provost marshal in New York City.

[95] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. A copy by John Laurens is also in the *Washington Papers*. The P. S. was added November 15, as the depositions there referred to bear that date. They were those of Joseph Cloyd and William Dewees, jr., and copies of them are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, 5, 517.

[96] Daniel Kemper.

quantity of cloathing being on hand, it is of the highest importance that this order be executed with the greatest punctuality.

The Court of Enquiry held the 11th. instant, whereof Col. Bradley,[97] was president, relative to the complaint of Joseph Chambers, late Commissary to Genl. Greene's division, against Col. Josiah Parker, for "Ordering a Serjeant and file of men to whip said Chambers," have made the following report, vizt: "As Colo. Parker owns the fact, the Court after hearing the evidences produced by him, in his defence, are unanimously of opinion, that however negligent the Commissary might have been, in the discharge of the duty of his department, yet Col. Parker was by no means warranted to inflict private punishment upon him; that the punishment was illegal, and his conduct highly reprehensible, as being subversive of good order and regularity."

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Head Quarters, November 15, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have duly received your several favors from the time you left me to that of the 12th. inst. I approve intirely of all the Steps you have taken, and have only to wish that the exertions of those you have had to deal with, had kept pace with your zeal and good intentions. I hope your health will, before this have permitted you to push the Rear of the whole reinforcement beyond New Windsor. Some of the Enemy's Ships have arrived in the Delaware, but how many have Troops on board I cannot exactly ascertain. The Enemy have lately damaged Fort Mifflin considerably, but our people keep possession and seem determined to do so to the last extremity. Our loss in

[97] Col. Philip Burr Bradley, of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment.

Men has been but small, Capt. Treat is unfortunately among the killed.

I wish you a safe return and am, etc.[98]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 15, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter of Yesterday inclosing the opinion of Major Thayer[99] the present Commandant at Fort Mifflin, respecting the defence of that post, and am happy to find that he and Major Fleury coincide in their Sentiments as to the practicability of maintaining it, in spite of the Enemys Land and Floating Batteries. Their perseverance however, may expose them to falling a Sacrifice in case of an attack by storm, unless the necessary materials be furnished them from your side of the River, for repairing the daily destruction caused by the Enemys Cannon; there should be a never failing supply of Fascines and Palisadoes, large Gabions will be useful, and a quantity of earth loaded in bulk on board of Flats, will be very serviceable in correcting the oozy nature of the Soil on which they are obliged to work, they are likewise in want of Ammunition for their 32 pounder, for which they have been obliged to use the Cartridges of their Eighteen pounders. A stock of fire wood, an indispensible Article at this Season of the year, should be laid in at every convenient opportunity, so that they may not be deficient in it, in case of the Communication between them and the main being interrupted by high wind or bad

[98] In the writing of Tench Tilghman in the *Alexander Hamilton Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[99] Maj. Simeon Thayer, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment. He lost an eye at Monmouth, N. J., in June, 1778, and retired in May, 1781. Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith, who had been in command at Fort Mifflin, had been wounded in the arm and had gone to Woodbury, N. J., to convalesce.

weather. One or two of their Gun Carriages are dismounted, which will require the presence of such Artificers as you can spare. Mr. Fleury seems desirous of retaining the Cannon on the Island, I cannot at this distance decide as to the propriety of suffering them to remain, which must depend intirely upon the State of the works, and the prospect of reestablishing some essential parts of them. Your visit to the Island will inable you to speak decisively upon this and other matters of importance.

Genl. Greene, in a Letter received from him this morning, informs me that the Enemy are attempting to get a Frigate thro the Channel between Hog Island and Province Island, this passage may be rendered impassable for Vessels of a respectable size, by sinking a hulk there, or throwing some other obstruction in the way; it will be proper therefore, that you should have a conference with the Commodore upon this subject immediately and consult with him upon the best means for frustrating the Enemy's designs.

With respect to the enterprise upon Province Island, which I recommended in my last, I must observe, that tho' my expressions gave it a great Latitude and that I proposed the ruin of the Enemy's Works as part of the End in view, yet I should be content, if nothing more could be effected, to have the cannon of those works or any part of them spiked, a resolute body of Volunteers and chosen men, I still think might be employed with success in this undertaking, and tho the time gained by us and the Embarrassment occasioned the Enemy, would not be so considerable as in the other case, Yet it appears to me worth the attempt, especially as by the means of surprise, the Service might be done before the party could be opposed in force, and at all events their retreat is easy.

Genl. Greene, in his Letter, calls the Channel in question the *New* Channel; [you will be best able to determine which he

means. I am in doubt whether it be that between Province Island and Hog Island, or that between the little Island opposite red-bank, and the main.] I am &ca.[1]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM WOODFORD

Head Quarters, November 15, 1777.

Dr. Sir: From an acct. just recd. from the Gentn. who went over Schuylkill, I conceive there will be an occasion for a detachment to March so soon as they make a final report, which I expect this afternoon.

I have therefore to desire, that the division you at present command may be held in readiness to move with their Baggage (and Provisions agreeable to the Genl. Orders of this day) by Seven O'clock tomorrow Morning; let every thing be got in readiness accordingly, although it should not, upon return of these Gentn. be found expedient. I am, etc. [H.L.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 15, 1777.

Parole Belfast. Countersigns Cork, Dublin.

Henceforward, and until further orders, the sick are to be sent to Buckingham Meeting house, with a suitable number of orderly men to attend them.

The troops are to be immediately supplied with two days' provisions (exclusive of this day) one of which, at least, is to be cooked. No officer, or soldier, is to be absent from camp, but ready for duty at a minute's warning.

No scouting party, under any pretence whatsoever (unless sent for that purpose) is to seize horses, cattle, or other property

[1] The letter sent, which is in the writing of John Laurens, adds the words between the brackets, which do not appear in the draft.

belonging to the inhabitants; Under the plea of taking these things within the enemy's lines, great and enormous abuses are committed. An infringement therefore, or disobedience of this order, in either officer or soldier, will be punished with the utmost rigour.

Complaint has been made, of the irregularity (in point of time) with which the horse mount guard: The Commander in Chief expects, they will parade with more punctuality in future: He also desires, that the Colonels of those regiments which have more horses than men, would immediately furnish (by way of loan) the others that are in want of horses, that as many men as possible, may be mounted, and the public not unnecessarily burden'd.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 16, 1777.

Parole Westmoreland. Countersigns Williamsburg, Wilmington.

As large quantities of materials for cartridges have been issued, and a few cartridges returned to the Commissary of military stores; returns are to be made to morrow afternoon by each brigade of the number of cartridges in their possession. These returns are to shew the number in each regiment, how many are in the hands of the soldiers, and where the residue are deposited.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY

Head Quarters at White Marsh, November 16, 1777.

Sir: In answer to your favour of this date: It remains with Congress alone to accept your Resignation. This being the case, I cannot permit you to leave the Army, till you have obtained

their consent. When that is done, I shall not object to your departure, since it is your inclination. I thank you much for your wishes for the liberty of America, and the success of our Arms, and have only to add, that in case you are permitted to return by Congress, you will have my hopes for a favourable passage and a happy meeting with your Family and friends.[2] I am etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, November 16, 1777.

Sir: I desire you will immediately set all your people at work to making Fascines, let them be about eight feet in length, about two feet in circumference, tight bound and composed of small wood. I am &ca.[3]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, November 17, 1777.

Sir: Your favor of yesterday covering Col. Greene's letter I received prior to which I had the Account of Fort Mifflin being evacuated.

The Fascines which you were to make may still be wanted tho' the Army is not to cross the Schuylkill for some little time; you had best not collect them all at any one place as they might

[2] Conway informed Washington that a longer stay in America would endanger his rank and hopes of promotion in France, adding: "Although I Leave the continent, I shall ever cherish the cause for which I fought, and, if the plan I Sent to Congress is accepted, I hope I will serve the cause more effectually in another part of the World." What this plan was does not appear from the records. Indorsed on Conway's letter is a note by Robert Hanson Harrison granting Conway the leave of absence of 10 or 12 days, which he requested. Conway's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Conway had sent in his resignation to Congress on November 14. His letter, which was addressed to Charles Carroll, but intended for Congress, was read on November 24 and bears the significant indorsement: "General Conway to be requested to attend the Board." He was appointed major general and Inspector General of the Continental Army by a resolve of Congress of Dec. 13, 1777. He finally resigned in a letter to Congress dated Apr. 22, 1778, and the resignation was accepted on April 28.

[3] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

become an object of the Enemy's attention and occasion an attempt to destroy them. I am, etc.[4]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 17, 1777.

Sir: I am sorry to inform you, that Fort Mifflin was evacuated the night before last, after a defence which does credit to the American Arms, and will ever reflect the highest honor upon the Officers and Men of the Garrison. The Works were entirely beat down, every piece of Cannon dismounted, and one of the Enemy's Ships so near, that she threw Grenades into the fort and killed the Men upon the platforms from her tops, before they quitted the Island. This Ship had been cut down for the purpose, and so constructed that she made but a small draft of Water, and was by these means, warped in between Fort Mifflin and the Province Island. Some complaints are made that the Captains of the Gallies did not sufficiently exert themselves to drive this Vessel from her Station, but I shall not determine any thing upon the matter, till a proper inquiry is made

Nothing in the Course of this Campaign, has taken up so much of the attention and consideration of myself and all the General Officers, as the possibility of giving a further relief to Fort Mifflin, than what we had already afforded. Such a Garrison was thrown into it, as has been found by experience, capable of defending it, to the last extremity; and Red Bank, which was deemed essentially necessary not only for the purpose of keeping open the communication, but of annoying the Enemy's Ships and covering our own Fleet, has been possessed by a considerable detachment from this Army. The only remaining

[4] The original A. L. S. is in the possession of Mrs. Sidney Bradford, of Avery Island, La., to whom the editor is indebted for this accurate copy of the text.

and practicable mode of giving relief to the Fort, was, by dislodging the Enemy from Province Island, from whence they kept up an incessent fire: But this, from the Situation of the Ground, was not to be attempted with any degree of safety to the attacking party, without the whole or a considerable part of the Army should be removed to the West Side of Schuylkill, to support and cover it. To account for this, you must be made acquainted with the nature of the ground. In order to have made the attack upon Province Island, the party destined for that Service, (which should have been at least 1500) must have marched down the Chester Road as far as the Bell Inn, near Derby, and thence, turning towards Delaware, must have proceeded about four Miles further, thro' a neck of land, to the Island. The Enemy have a Bridge at the middle ferry upon Schuylkill, which is but four Miles from the Bell Inn, consequently, by throwing a Body of Men over that Bridge, upon the first discovery of our design, and Marching down to the Bell, they would have effectually cut off our detachment upon their return. It is true, the covering party might have consisted of a less number than the whole Army, but then, those remaining on this side of the River would have been too few, to have been intrusted with all the Artillery and Stores of the Army, within twelve Miles of the Enemy. There were many and very forcible Reasons against a total Remove to the West Side of Schuylkill. Leaving all our Stores at Easton, Bethlehem, and Allen Town uncovered, and abandoning several of our Hospitals within reach of the Enemy first presented themselves. Another, and in my opinion a more weighty reason than either of the preceeding, was the importance of supporting the post at Red Bank, upon which, that of Fort Mifflin in a great measure depended, as thro' it, we sent in Supplies of Men, provision and Ammunition. The Enemy, sensible of this, endeavoured

to dislodge us from Red Bank on the 22d last month, which, as Congress have been informed, cost them 400 Men. Now, had our Army been upon the West Side of Schuylkill, they might, without any danger of an attack upon their lines, have thrown over so considerable a force into Jersey, that they might have overpowered the Garrison, and by making themselves masters of it, have reduced Fort Mifflin by famine or want of ammunition. Thus we should, in all probability, have lost both posts by one Stroke. They might also, by taking possession of the fords upon Schuylkill, have rendered the Junction of our northern reinforcements with us a very difficult if not an impracticable matter, and should any accident have happened to them, we should have stood a very poor chance of looking Genl. Howe in the face, thro' the Winter, with an inferior Army. We should finally, have thrown the Army into such a situation, that we must inevitably have drawn on a general Engagement, before our Reinforcements arrived, which, considering our disparity of Numbers, would probably have ended with the most disagreeable Consequences.

It was therefore determined, a few days ago, to wait the arrival of the Reinforcement from the Northward, before any alteration could safely be made in the disposition of the Army, and I was not without hopes, that the Fort would have held out till that time. That we might then have moved without endangering the Stores, I had given orders for the removal of them from the places before mentioned, to Lebanon and other places in Lancaster County, which is, at any rate, more safe and convenient than where they were.

As to keeping possession of Red Bank and thereby still preventing the Enemy from weighing the Chevaux de frize before the Frost obliges their Ships to quit the River, has become a matter of the greatest importance; I have determined to send

down Genl. St. Clair, Genl. Knox, and Baron Kalb to take a view of the Ground, and to endeavour to form a Judgment of the most probable means of securing it. They will, at the same time, see how far it is possible for our fleet to keep their Station since the loss of Fort Mifflin, and also make the proper inquiry into the Conduct of the Captains of the Galleys, mentioned in the former part of this letter.

I am informed that it is matter of amazement, and that reflections have been thrown out against this Army, for not being more active and enterprizing than, in the opinion of some, they ought to have been. If the charge is just, the best way to account for it, will be to [refer you to the returns of our Strength and those which I can produce of the Enemy, and to] the inclosed Abstract of the Cloathing now actually wanting for the Army, and then I think the wonder will be, how they keep the field at all, in Tents, at this Season of the Year. What Stock the Cloathier General has to supply this demand, or what are his prospects, he himself will inform you, as I have directed him to go to York Town to lay these matters before Congress. There are besides, most of those in the Hospitals more bare than those in the Field. Many remain there, for want of Cloaths only.

Several General Officers, unable to procure Cloathing in the common line, have employed Agents to purchase up what could be found in different parts of the Country. Genl. Wayne among others has employed Mr. Zantzinger[5] of Lancaster, who has purchased to the Amount of £4500, for which he desires a draft upon the Treasury Board. Inclosed you have copy of his letter. I am not clear whether this application should properly be made to the Treasury or the Cloathier General, who should charge the money to the Regiments for whom the Cloaths are, as so much advanced to them. If the latter should appear the most proper mode, I will order it to be done.

[5] Paul Zantzinger.

I am anxiously waiting the arrival of the Troops from the Northward, who ought, from the time they have had my orders, to have been here before this. Colo. Hamilton, one of my Aids, is up the North River doing all he can to push them forward, but he writes me that he finds many unaccountable delays thrown in his way. However I am in hopes that many days will not elapse before a Brigade or two at least arrive. [The want of these Troops has embarrassed all my measures exceedingly.]

November 18.

Your dispatches of the 13th and 14th have this Moment come to hand; they shall be attended to and answered in my next. I have the honor to be, etc.[6]

To MAJOR GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR AND BARON DE KALB AND BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, November 17, 1777.

Gentlemen: You are to proceed with all convenient expedition to Fort Mercer, where, by conferring with Brigadier General Varnum, Commodore Hazlewood and such other Officers as you may think proper to consult, and from your own view of the Ground and River you will investigate the following Points.

1. The Practicability of hindering the Enemy from clearing the main Channel of the Chevaux de frize which now obstruct it, without having possession of Mud Island.

2. What farther aid would be required from this Army to effect the purpose above mentioned, supposing it practicable, and how should such aid be disposed.

[6] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. In the draft, also by Tilghman, the words in brackets were added by Washington.

3. Whether our Fleet will be able to keep the River, in case the Enemy make a lodgement, and establish Batteries on Mud Island.

4. Supposing the Fleet necessitated to retire, whether the Land force could maintain its present Position independently of it.

5. Whether it be practicable to take or drive away the Enemy's Floating Battery, and if either can be done, whether an obstruction may not be laid in the Channel through which she passed, so as to prevent the passage of any Vessel in future.

6. If the Fleet should be obliged to retire and Fort Mercer be invested by the Enemy, by what means could the Garrison be drawn off, or reinforced if either should be judged necessary.

You will be particular in making my acknowledgments to those Officers and Men who have distinguished themselves in the defence of the Fort, and assure them that I have a high sense of their gallant conduct.

This is by no means to be understood, Gentlemen, as restraining you to the examination only of the particular points enumerated, which are intended as a memorandum, but you will in conjunction with the Commanding Officers on the spot, make every such arrangement and alteration as shall appear essential. I am etc.[7]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 17, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

Some officers yet remaining untried, and many prisoners in the provost, Brigade Courts martial are to be held for trying them without delay.

No pass is to be given to any one to go into Philadelphia, but by the Major General of the day, who will not grant them

[7] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. (See Washington's letter to Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum, Nov. 19, 1777, *post*.)

without due examination, and upon the most reasonable and necessary occasions.

At the request of Colo. Price, a Court of enquiry into his conduct, on sundry occasions, is to set to morrow forenoon at ten o'clock, at the tavern next to Col. Biddle's quarters. All persons who have any objections or complaints to make against him, or know any thing amiss in his past conduct, are desired to appear and declare the same before said court. Colonels Hartley and Humpton, and Lt. Col. Craig are appointed members of this court.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 18, 1777.

Parole Westminster. Countersigns Winchester, Woodbridge.

The Government of the State of Pennsylvania, having appointed Commissioners in each county thereof, to collect blankets and cloathing for the army. All officers sent round in the State for that purpose are, by their commanding officers, to be called in as soon as possible, with what cloathing they have.

Richard Claiborne Esqr. is appointed Brigade Major to General Weedon's brigade, and is to be obeyed as such.

AFTER ORDERS

The whole army is immediately to draw provisions, for to morrow and next day, and cook the provisions of one of those days, and get ready to march at the shortest notice.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, 10 O'Clock P. M., November 18, 1777.

Dear Sir: A Body of the Enemy marched last Night from Philadelphia across the Bridge at the Middle Ferry and proceeded to Chester. Their number is variously reported, being

from 1500 to 3,000, but I imagine the former is most likely, altho' some people, from the City, think their numbers are much lessened upon their lines. They this day embarked their Horses from Chester on Board Ships and Brigs. This would seem as if they were going away, but in my opinion it is only a feint, and that they intend to cross over to Jersey and pay you a visit. Therefore keep a good look out below, if you do this they cannot surprize you, because they must make a tedious debarkation of their Horses. To all matters contained in yours of yesterday I refer you to the Generals St. Clair, Knox and Kalb, who went down to consult with you and the Commodore. I expect a report from them to govern me in my operations, towards assisting you. If you could get some Countryman to go into Billingsport with a small supply of provisions, he might learn something of their intentions and numbers. I am etc.[8]

To RICHARD HENRY LEE

White Marsh, November 18, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 7th. Instant should not have remained so long unanswered, but for the uncertainty of Colonel Pickering's acceptance of his new Appointment. He has now determined to do this, which leads me to say, that I am really at a loss to recommend a proper person as a Successor to the Office of Adjutant General. The Gentleman I named to you some time ago will not, you say, answer. I knew but little of him myself, but understood he was well acquainted with the duty, having served much to the satisfaction of General Montgomery (a good judge) in Canada, during his long and severe Campaign in 1775.[9]

That I might know the sense of the General Officers upon this point of so much importance, that is, whether any of them

[8] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[9] Possibly Lieut. Col. Edward Fleming, of the Third New York Regiment, and deputy adjutant general, New York Department.

were acquainted with a person qualified for the discharge of the important duties of this Office I asked them collectively; but they either were not acquainted with a proper person, or did not incline to recommend any one. Colonel Lee,[10] who was formerly recommended by Congress to fill this Office; Colonel Wilkinson,[11] Major Scull,[12] and Colonel Innes[13] were separately spoken of. The first is an Active, spirited Man, a good disciplinarian, and being, *as he was,* disappointed before, by Colonel Pickering's unexpected acceptance of the Office, may possibly look for it now. He writes a good hand, but how correctly, or with what ease, I cannot undertake to say, having had no opportunity of judging. The next Gentleman, Wilkinson, I can say less of, because he has served for the most part in the Northern department. General Gates, I understand, speaks highly of him. He is, I believe, a good Gramatical Scholar, but how diligent I know not. The next, Scull, is a Young Man, but an Old Officer and very highly spoken of, for his knowledge of service, strictness of discipline, diligence and correctness. He early was Brigade Major to General Thompson. The last, Innes, I know nothing more of, than his being a Man of spirit, good Sense and education, and recommended by General Woodford. Thus, Sir, have I, without the least view to serve an Individual, given you the Name of every one that has been mentioned to me, and the Characters of them respectively, as far as they have been delineated.

It is a matter of no small moment to the well being of an Army, that the several departments of it should be filled by

[10] Col. William Raymond Lee, of an Additional Continental regiment. He resigned in January, 1778.

[11] Col. James Wilkinson, aide-de-camp to Gates.

[12] Maj. Peter Scull, of Patton's Additional Continental regiment. He resigned in January, 1778; secretary of the Continental Board of War in January, 1779; lost at sea in November, 1779.

[13] Lieut. Col. James Innes, of the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment. He retired in September, 1778; Judge Advocate of the Continental Army, July–September, 1782.

Men of Ability, integrity and application; and much therefore is it to be wished that you may be fortunate in your choice of Adjutant and Quarter Master Generals to this Army. Wadsworth[14] has the reputation of being clever at business. In the Commissary's department he was found active and understanding; but how far he may be qualified for the Chief management of so extensive a department as that of Quarter Master General, I know not. Experience has already evinced, in the Commissarial Line, a change which has embarrassed the movements of this Army exceedingly. I will not charge it to the measure, nor the Men, but the time it happened. This, however, with truth, I can say, that we seldom have more than a day or two's Provisions before hand; and often as much behind, both of Meat and Bread. It can be no difficult matter, therefore, under these circumstances, for you, or any other Gentleman, to conceive how much the movements of an Army are clogged and retarded. And now, whilst I am upon this subject, let me add, that I am well convinced that the Salt Provisions necessary for next Year, and which (for want of Salt) can only be had to the Eastward, will not be provided, as the Season is now far advanced, and I have heard of no proper measures being taken to lay them in.

Have you any late advices from Europe? Is there any good grounds for the report of Russians coming out?[15] And is there any expectation of a War between France and Great Britain? If these are Questions which can be answered with properity, I shall be glad of a solution of them, and am etc.[16]

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[14] Jeremiah Wadsworth, formerly Deputy Commissary General of Purchases. He became Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army in April, 1778; resigned in January, 1780.

[15] Great Britain sounded out the Empress of Russia in 1775 as to obtaining Russian mercenaries as were, later, obtained from Hesse-Cassel and other places in Germany; but though Catherine seemed willing at first, she later changed her attitude and all hope of obtaining Russian troops vanished by 1776. The rumor of their coming, however, persisted in America for some time.

[16] From the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 14th. I could have wished that the Regiments that I had ordered had come on because I do not like Brigades to be broke by Detachment. The urgency of Colonel Hamilton's Letter was owing to his knowledge of our wants in this Quarter, and to a certainty that there was no danger to be apprehended from New York, if you sent away all the Continental Troops that were then with you and waited to replace them by those expected down the River. I cannot but say that there has been more delay in the march of the Troops than I think necessary and I could wish that in future my orders may be immediately complied with, without arguing upon the propriety of them; if any accident ensues from obeying them, the fault will lie upon me and not upon you.

I have yet heard nothing of Poor's or Paterson's Brigades or of Colo. Charles Webb's Regiment. Learned's Brigade will be at Coryells ferry to night or to morrow, and Lee's and Jackson's Regiments arrived here this day.

Be pleased to inform me particularly of the Corps that have marched and are to march and by what Routes they are directed, that I may know how to dispatch orders to meet them upon the Road if necessary. I am &ca.[17]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN GLOVER, OR OFFICER COMMANDING HIS BRIGADE

Head Quarters, 11 O'Clock P. M., November 19, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy having thrown a considerable part of their force over Delaware, with an intention, as I suppose, of making an attack upon our Fort at Red Bank, Occasions me to reinforce the Garrison and Troops already there, with a large detachment

[17] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

from this Army, in addition to which it is my desire and you are hereby ordered to March by the most convenient Route after receipt of this to join the Continental Army, which may be in the Neighbourhood of Red Bank under command of Major Genl. Greene or any other Officer there commanding, and take his directions with respect to your conduct at that Post. You will take the necessary precaution for the subsistence of your Troops on their march to this place by Detaching Commissaries &ca. to provide for them. Your first Route should be directed to Haddonfield and from thence as circumstances will require. I am &ca.[18]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING EITHER POOR'S OR PATERSON'S BRIGADE

Head Quarters, November 19, 1777.

Sir: Instead of proceeding to Coryell's Ferry, which I imagine is your intended Route, I desire you will march down, as far as Trenton, and there wait my orders before you cross the River. The moment you receive this, dispatch an Officer to me, to inform me where you are, when you will be at Trenton, and by what Road you will march that I may send orders to meet you. I am etc.

P. S. If this should reach you between Flemingtown and Coryells Ferry, You are not to march towards Trenton, but cross at Coryell's as first intended.[19]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: In consequences of advices received since I wrote you last night, I have ordered Genl. Huntington to march to

[18] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[19] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

your assistance. You will please to direct the detachment that went first down to Fort Mifflin under the command of Colo. Smith, to return to Camp, they are in so much want of necessaries that it is impossible for them to remain longer. Let the Militia that are with you be put in the best order that they can be, I wish they had a good Officer at their Head to arrange them properly. I am &ca.

P. S. It would not be amiss to collect all the Militia you can in the Country adjacent.[20]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL
JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Generals St. Clair, Knox and Kalb returned to Camp this Evening, they are all clear in their opinions that keeping possession of the Jersey Shore at or near Red Bank is of the last importance. I have therefore determined to make such an addition to the Reinforcement that marched this morning under Genl. Huntington, that I am in hopes you will be able to give an effectual check to the force which the Enemy at present have in Jersey. Genl. Greene will take the command of the Reinforcement. Very much will depend upon keeping possession of Fort Mercer, as to reduce it, the Enemy will be obliged to put themselves in a very disagreeable situation to them and advantageous to us, upon a narrow neck of land between two Creeks, with our whole force pressing upon their Rear. Therefore desire Colo. Green to hold it if possible till the relief arrives. All superfluous Stores may be removed if it can be done after this reaches you; that in Case of Accident, as little may fall into the hands of the Enemy as possible. While he holds the fort, it will be necessary for some of the Gallies to lay close under the Bank, to keep the Enemy from making any lodgment under it,

[20] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and it will also secure your Communication with the Water, which perhaps may be essential, for I do not remember whether there is a Well in the Works. There can be no danger to the Gallies, while we keep the Bank above them, and if we evacuate, if they cannot get off, they may destroy them and put the Men on Shore. I have recommended this, upon a supposition that they will be very serviceable to you, if you do not think they will, you need not keep them.

Altho' I am anxious to have the fort kept, I do not mean that it should be done at all events, so as to endanger the safety of the men without any probability of success. I am &ca.[21]

To COLONEL JOHN BAILEY[22]

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 19, 1777.

Sir: I received yours dated Hardwick the 16th. I have only to desire you to march forward, with all expedition and join me at this place. If you have not left an Officer on whom you can depend to bring on the men left at Goshen, as soon as they are fit for Service, I desire you will send such an one back for that purpose. I am &ca.[23]

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, November 19, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of 15th. Instant, covering the Resolution of a Council of War[24] held the preceding day upon the Subject of my Letter of the 13th.

[21] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[22] Of the Second Massachusetts Regiment, then commanding Brig. Gen. Ebenezer Learned's brigade.

[23] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[24] The council held (November 14) on the Chatham galley decided "That on our Forces keeping possession of the Jerseys, depends altogether the preservation of

The General Officers who have been sent from here to Examine into and determine upon the Measures to be adopted in that quarter, have, I expect, by this time put things in such a Train, as will be most conducive to the public Interest, and agreeable to the Officers concerned. Should any matter be left undetermined by them, I shall be able from their report to form my opinion thereon and shall immediately communicate it to you; in the mean time I have no doubt but you will afford every assistance in your power to repell any attempt which may be made to clear the Channel or reduce the Fort. Inclosed you have a Letter from Presidt. Wharton[25] which he requested might be forwarded to you. I am &ca.[26]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 19, 1777.

Parole Holland. Countersigns Hanover, Hamburg.

The Pennsylvania Field Officers are desired to bring in their old commissions and receive new ones.

All the General Officers are desired to assemble to morrow, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at Genl. Huntington's quarters, in order to settle the rank of the field officers of Horse, who are to attend this Board of General Officers and exhibit their respective claims.

All arms unfit for service, which are deposited in the several regiments and corps, are to be sent immediately to the Commissary of military stores, who will send them to be repaired.

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our Fleet and consequently every expectation to be formed from its Manœuvres in the future." The council thought that if the Jerseys could be held the galleys could find a safe retreat in Timber Creek, from whence they could harass the enemy. The report of the council of war is in the *Washington Papers*.

[25] President Thomas Wharton, of Pennsylvania.

[26] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 20, 1777.

Parole Burlington. Countersigns Bristol, Trenton.

Lieut. John Marshall is, by the Judge Advocate General, appointed Deputy Judge Advocate in the Army of the United States, and is to be respected as such.

James Monroe Esqr. formerly appointed an additional Aide-de-Camp to Major General Lord Stirling, is now appointed Aide-de-Camp to his Lordship, in the room of Major Wilcock[27] who resigned on the 20th. of October last, and is to be respected as such.

Mr William Mountjoy is appointed Pay Master to the 3rd. Virginia regt. and is to be respected as such.

Before the sick are removed, application is always to be made to Doctor Cochran, or other director of the hospitals, for directions, unless the places to which they are to be sent have been previously pointed out in General orders. No more sick are to be sent to Buckingham meeting house.

A General Court Martial of which Lieut. Col. Barber was president, was held the 18th. instant, and proceeded to the trial of Ensign Clement Wood of the 4th. Jersey regiment, charged with "Absenting himself, for upwards of two months, from the regiment, without leave," and also with "Disobedience of orders." The Court determined that Ensign Wood is guilty of the whole charge exhibited against him; that he be dismissed the service; and that he receive pay no longer than the time when he received orders from Lieut. Col. Brearly to join his regiment, which was on the 14th of October 1777. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence, and orders it to be put in execution immediately.

[27] Maj. William Wilcox.

A General Court Martial of which Major General Sullivan was president, was held on the 3rd. instant, and on divers other days, to the 17th instant inclusively, for the trial of Major General Stephen, charged with: "1st Unofficerlike behaviour on the march from the Clove; 2nd Unofficerlike behaviour in the actions at Brandywine and Germantown; 3rd. Drunkenness." The Court declared their opinion and sentence as follows: "The Court having considered the charges against Major General Stephen, are of opinion, that he is guilty of unofficerlike behaviour, in the retreat from Germantown, owing to inattention, or want of judgement; and that he has been frequently intoxicated since in the service, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline; contrary to the 5th. article of the 18th Section of the articles of war. Therefore sentence him to be dismissed the service. The Court find him not guilty of any other crimes he was charged with, and therefore acquit him, as to all others, except the two before mentioned." The Commander in Chief approves the sentence.

To THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE HUNTERDON, BURLINGTON, GLOUCESTER, SALEM, AND CUMBERLAND COUNTIES MILITIA

Head Quarters, November 20, 1777.

Friends and Fellow Soldiers.

The Enemy have thrown a considerable Force into your State with intent to possess themselves of the post at Red Bank and after clearing the obstructions in Delaware make incursions into your Country.

To prevent them from effecting either of these purposes, I have sent over such a number of Continental Troops, as I trust will, with the spirited exertions of the Militia, totally defeat

their designs, and oblige them to return to the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia, which is the only Ground they possess upon the Pennsylvania Shore, and in which they cannot subsist, if cut off from the supplies of the plentiful State of New Jersey.

I therefore call upon you, by all that you hold dear, to rise up as one Man, and rid your Country[28] of its cruel invaders. To convince you that this is to be done by a general appearance of all its Freemen armed and ready to give them opposition, I need only put you in Mind of the effect it had upon the British Army in June last, who laid aside their intention of marching through the upper part of your State, upon seeing the hostile manner in which you were prepared to receive them. Look also at the glorious effect which followed that spirit of Union which appeared among our Brethren of New York and New England, who, by[29] the brave assistance which they offered to the Continental Army, obliged a royal one, flushed with their former Victories to sue for terms, and lay down their Arms in the most submissive Manner.

Reflect upon these things, and I am convinced that every Man who can bear a Musket, will take it up, and without respect to Classes give his Service in the Field for a few Weeks, perhaps only for a few days.[30]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH POOR

Head Quarters, November 20, 1777.

Sir: Upon receipt of this you are to direct your march towards this Army, and to be as expeditious as possible in forming a junction.

[28] At this point the draft has "at one Blow" crossed out.

[29] At this point the draft has "their vigorous exertions" crossed out.

[30] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This address was published in the *New Jersey Gazette,* Burlington, Dec. 5, 1777, where it was followed by an address from Governor Livingston, dated Trenton, November 23, exhorting the militia "to turn out with alacrity, at a time when Providence seems to have presented you with a glorious opportunity for defeating the common enemy."

If in consequence of yesterday's orders you should have filed off towards Trenton, continue that Route and give me notice of it by a Messenger, he will probably find me at the Crooked Billet. I am &ca.[31]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN PATERSON

Head Quarters, November 20, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday wrote you a Letter with conditional directions relative to your march. Upon receipt of this, you will proceed by the way of Coryells Ferry and join this army, as expeditiously as possible.

If in consequence of the order given yesterday you should have filed off towards Trenton, you may continue that Route, but in that case you will dispatch a Messenger to give me notice of it, I shall probably be found at the Crooked Billet. I am etc.[31]

To COLONEL EPHRAIM BLAINE

Head Quarters at White Marsh, November 21, 1777.

Whereas large supplies of Wheat and Flour are wanted for the use of the Army under my command, You are to repair immediately to the State of Jersey and to use every prudent possible exertion to procure such quantities, as may be necessary for the purpose above mentioned, offering and paying for the same a just and generous price.

It is hoped and expected, that you will find no difficulty in the execution of this business. However, if there should be any holders of these Articles, who from base and sordid principles, demand an exorbitant and unwarrantable price for the same, you are authorized, in case you cannot agree, to take them, giving Certificates for the Quantities you receive, to be paid for,

[31] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

agreeable to the prices and regulations that may be fixed on by the Assembly of the said State.[32]

To FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 21, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 14th. inclosing a letter for the Revd. Mr. Duché.[33] I will endeavour to forward it to him, but I imagine it will never be permitted to reach his hands.

I confess to you, that I was not more surprised than concerned at receiving so extraordinary a Letter from Mr. Duché, of whom I had entertained the most favourable opinion, and I am still willing to suppose, that it was rather dictated by his fears than by his real sentiments; but I very much doubt whether the great numbers of respectable Characters, in the State and Army, on whom he has bestowed the most unprovoked and unmerited abuse will ever attribute it to the same Cause, or forgive the Man who has artfully endeavoured to engage me to Sacrifice them to purchase my own safety.

I never intended to have made the letter more public than by laying it before Congress. I thought this a duty which I owed to myself, for had any accident have happened to the

[32] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[33] Hopkinson's letter to Duché, who was his brother-in-law, is dated November 14 and is printed, in part, in *Life and Works of Hopkinson,* by George E. Hastings (Chicago: 1926): "Words cannot express the Grief and Consternation that wounded my Soul at the sight of this fatal Performance. . . . I could go thro' this extraordinary Letter and point out to you the Truth distorted in every leading Part; But the World will doubtless do this with a Severity that must be Daggers to the Sensibilities of your Heart. Read that Letter over again: and, if possible, divest yourself of the Fears and Influences, whatever they were, that induced you to pen it . . . you have by a vain and weak Effort attempted the Integrity of one whose Virtue is impregnable to the Assaults of Fear or Flattery; whose Judgment needed not your Information and who, I am sure, would have resigned his Charge the Moment he found it likely to lead him out of the Paths of Virtue and Honour. . . . And with whom would you have him negotiate. Are they not those who, without the Sanction of any civil, moral or religious Right, have come 3000 Miles to destroy our Peace and Property: to lay waste to *your* native Country with Fire and Sword and cruelly murther its Inhabitants. Look for their Justice and Honour, in the Gaols of New York and Philada. and in your own Potter's Field. . . ."

Army intrusted to my command, and it had ever afterwards have appeared that such a letter had been wrote to and received by me, might it not have been said that I had betrayed my Country? and would not such a correspondence, if kept a secret, have given good Grounds for the suspicion?

I thank you for the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of me, and I hope no act of mine will ever induce you to alter them. I am etc.[34]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 21, 1777.

Parole Brookfield. Countersigns Springfield, Pomfret.

Those pay-masters of regiments, who have drawn pay for any officers or men in Col. Morgan's Rifle Corps, are immediately to pay the same over to the Pay Master of that corps.

Complaint is made that by the carelessness of the butchers, the hides are greatly damaged in taking them off. The Issuing Commissaries are enjoined duly to inspect the butchers they employ, and see that they take off the hides with proper care.

No women coming out of Philadelphia are to be permitted to pass the first guards, without being told, they cannot return again; if upon being informed of this, they chuse to come out, they are to be allowed to pass the guards into the country. The General of Horse will give this in charge to all the parties and patroles of horse.

The officers of the day report that Sentries from the picquets keep fires by them. This dangerous practice is absolutely forbidden, and all officers of guards are without fail to visit all their sentries between every relief, to see that they are alert, and keep no fires; and in cold and bad weather they are to relieve

[34] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. (See Washington's letter to Francis Hopkinson, Jan. 27, 1778, *post.*)

the sentries every hour. They are also to see that the sentries are well informed of their duty, and to instruct such as are deficient.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White Marsh, November 22, 1777.

Parole Chester. Countersigns Danbury, Easton.

The General Court Martial of the line, of which Colonel Grayson is president, is to sit to morrow morning at nine o'clock, at the house where General Huntington quartered, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. An orderly serjeant from each brigade is to attend the court. Lt. Col. Heth,[35] Lt. Col. Becker[36] and Major Taylor,[37] and a captain from each Continental brigade present, are to compose the members of the court.

All the General Officers present in camp are desired to meet at Lord Stirling's quarters, to morrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to settle the ranks of the Field Officers of horse, who are to attend this board and exhibit their respective claims.

The brigades commanded by Generals Paterson and Learned are to form one division under Major General the Baron DeKalb.

AFTER ORDERS

The Commander in Chief offers a reward of *Ten dollars,* to any person who shall, by nine o'clock on Monday morning, produce the best substitute for shoes, made of raw hides. The Commissary of hides is to furnish the hides, and the Major General of the day is to judge of the essays, and assign the reward to the best artist.

[35] Lieut. Col. William Heth, of the Third Virginia Regiment. He was promoted to colonel Apr. 30, 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780, and remained prisoner on parole to the end of the war.

[36] Lieut. Col. Richard Parker(?), of the Second Virginia Regiment.

[37] Maj. John(?) Taylor, of the Second Canadian Regiment.

Col. Martin[38] of North Carolina having resigned his Commission, the eldest officer of that corps now present is to command it.

The troops just arrived from the northward, are immediately to have their Cartouch Boxes filled with cartridges. The whole army to have their ammunition in such readiness as to be completed to 40 rounds, at a moment's warning, where they have waggons to secure that quantity from the weather, and officers and men to be in camp, that they may be ready to act on the shortest notice.

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of Yesterday afternoon from Burlington. As you have crossed the River, an attack upon the Enemy's Detachment, if it can be made with success, would be a most desirable object. But I must leave the propriety of it entirely to your own judgment. I have heard nothing more of Glover's Brigade than that they were advancing down the Road from Morris Town, I sent an Express to meet them, and to turn them down towards you, but I think you had better dispatch one of your family or an Officer to guide them to you. There are not more than one hundred and Seventy of Morgan's Corps fit to march, as they in general want Shoes, they went Yesterday and will join you I suppose this day. Captn. Lee's Troop are not yet come from the other side of Schuylkill, but they are expected every instant, and will be sent immediately over to you. If you can procure any account that you think may be depended upon, of the Number that the Enemy detached from Philadelphia, I beg you will send it to me. Or if they send any part of their force back, let me know it instantly. I shall be

[38] Col. Alexander Martin, of the Second North Carolina Regiment. He resigned Nov. 22, 1777.

anxious to hear of every movement of you or the Enemy and I therefore wish to have the most constant advices. I am etc.

P. S. I shall order an Express to be stationed at Bristol to bring on your dispatches.[39]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Qurs., November 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your Letter of this days date;[40] it does not appear from any account worthy of credit, that any part of the Detachment which crossed the Delaware under Lord Cornwallis has returned to Philadelphia. I am inclined therefore to wish that you would advance to meet it, as much in force as possible, and that for this purpose, you would use every means to hasten the junction of Glovers Brigade. I am at a loss to account by what mistake Captn. Lee's Troop is not with you, that was originally intended for the Service you mention, as it was esteemed the best calculated for it, as a party of Horse appears so essential, that or some other will be ordered to join you immediately. I am etc.

P. S. By an Officer from Glovers Brigade, I was informed that it reached Morris Town the evening of the 20th. I sent a message by him to urge them forward and have reason to think they are by this time in your Neighbourhood.[41]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 22, 1777.

Sir: I have received your favours of 20th. and 21st. Instt. By this express I shall write to Maj. Genl. Greene from whom you

[39] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[40] Greene's plan of intended battle against Cornwallis is in the *Washington Papers*, under date of November 26. (See Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene or Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum or Jedidiah Huntington, Nov. 28, 1777, *post*.)

[41] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

will receive your Instructions respecting your operations on that Shore.

I am at a loss to determine upon what principle the powder was strewed over the fort at Red Bank, as I expected that if an Evacuation was found necessary, it might be brought off and if that was impracticable I conceived the best mode of destroying it was to throw it into the River unless it was determined to blow up the works with it, which could never be effected by the mode which was adopted.

As the destruction of the Fort would naturally accompany the idea of being obliged to abandon it, I shall be much disappointed, if I hear it has not been executed. I am &ca.[42]

To CAPTAIN ALLEN McLANE

Head Quarters, November 22, 1777.

Sir: I have this moment received your Letter containing the Proposals of some of the Inhabitants near the Enemy's Lines. I will undoubtedly accept their offers of Service provided they give in a list of their names, and engage to be under the absolute command for the time specified of such Officer as I shall appoint; this precaution is necessary, for otherwise they may receive the Public Money without performing the Duty expected of them. I am &ca.[43] [N.Y.H.S.]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, November 23, 1777.

Sir: I am compelled by repeated Complaints of the Inhuman treatment still shewn to the unhappy Prisoners in your hands, to call upon you for a clear and explicit answer to my Letter of the 14th instant. This I shall expect to receive by Monday Evening next. Their sufferings demand immediate redress, and

[42] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[43] In the writing of John Laurens.

unless, I obtain the most satisfactory Assurances on this Head, duty will constrain me to retaliate instantly, on the Prisoners in my possession. I am etc.[44]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, November 23, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your Favors of the 13 and 19 Instant with their Inclosures. I am well assured Congress have not been inattentive to the Necessities of the Army, and that the deficiency in our Supplies, particularly in the Article of cloathing has arisen from the difficulty of importing on account of the Numerous Fleet, which line our Coast. However, I am persuaded that considerable relief might be drawn from the different States, were they to exert themselves properly. This I hope will be the case, as soon as they receive the pressing recommendations of Congress upon the Subject.

It has been the unvaried custom of the Enemy, from the commencement of the present Contest, to try every Artifice and device to delude the People. The Message sent thro' John Brown was calculated for this end.[45] I am surprised Mr. Willing[46] should suffer himself to be imposed on by such flimsy measures. He knows that there is a plain, obvious way for Genl and Lord Howe to communicate any proposals they wish to make to Congress, without the intervention of a second and third hand. But this would not suit their views. I am sorry that Mr. Brown should have been the Bearer of the Message,

[44] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Nov. 26, 1777, *post.*)

[45] Brown had come out from Philadelphia and traveled through a large part of Pennsylvania before returning to the city. He "is again come out without a flag or pass from any general or officer in the service of the United States, pretending that he is charged with a verbal message to Congress from General Howe." Deeming such conduct "grounds of suspicion that he is employed by the enemy for purposes inimical to these states," Congress ordered his arrest. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress,* Nov. 18, 1777.)

[46] Thomas Willing.

as from the character I have had of him, he is a worthy, well disposed Man. It has been frequently mentioned, that he had interested himself much in behalf of our Prisoners; and had afforded them every relief and comfort his circumstances would allow him to give.

I have been endeavouring to effect an Exchange of prisoners, from principles of justice and from motives of humanity; but at present I have no prospect of it. Yet Genl. Howe has assured Our Officers, it was his wish, and if it could not be done, that he should readily agree to their release on parole. The Inclosed Copies of my Letters and his Answer will shew Congress what has passed between us upon that subject, and at the same time, that I had remonstrated against the severe and cruel treatment of the Prisoners and proposed the Plan of sending in a Suitable person to inquire into the Facts, before the receipt of their Resolution. Their sufferings, I am persuaded, have been great and shocking to Humanity. (I have called upon Genl. Howe for redress and an explicit answer to my Letter of the 14th. If I do not receive One by to morrow night, with the most positive and satisfactory assurances, that a proper conduct shall be observed towards them in future, we must retaliate. However much we wish to avoid Severity and measures that bears the smallest appearance of rigour, or inhumanity.)

Inclosed you will receive a List of Sundry Officers, who have been cashiered since the Action of the 4th. Ulto. I flatter myself, that these examples, will involve many favorable and beneficial consequences. Besides these there were many more brought to trial who were acquitted. Among them Genl. Maxwell and Genl. Wayne. The former for charges against him while he commanded the Light Troops. The latter for charges against his conduct, in the Attack made on his division in the Night of the 20th of September. The result of the Court of Inquiry against Genl. Wayne, not intirely exempting him from censure

in his own Opinion, he requested a Court Martial and upon a full and minute investigation of the charges against him, he was honourably acquitted and in terms of high respect.

I am sorry to inform Congress, that the Enemy are now in possession of All the Water defences. Fort Mifflin and that at Red Bank mutually depended on each Other for support, and the reduction of the former made the tenure of the latter extremely precarious, if not impracticable. After the loss of Fort Mifflin, it was found Red Bank could derive no advantages from the Gallies and Armed Vessels (they could not maintain their Station) and in case of Investiture, the Garrison could have no Supplies, no retreat, nor any hope of relief, but such as might arise from a Superior Force acting without on the rear of the Enemy and dislodging them. Under these circumstances, the Garrison was obliged to evacuate it on the night of the 20th Inst., on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, who had crossed the River from Chester with a Detachment, supposed to be about Two Thousand Men and formed a junction with the Troops lately arrived from New York and those that had been landed before at Billingsport. From Genl. Varnum's Account, I have reason to hope, that we saved Most of the Stores, except a few Heavy Cannon, however I cannot be particular in this instance. I am also to add, from the intelligence I have received, that most, if not All the Armed Vessels have been burnt by our own people, except the Gallies, One Brig and Two Sloops, which are said to have run by the City. How far this might be founded in necessity, I am not able to determine; but I suppose it was done under that Idea and an apprehension of their falling into the Enemy's hands, if they attempted to pass up the River. Upon the first information I had of Lord Cornwallis's movement, I detached Genl Huntington's Brigade to join Genl Varnum and as soon as possible Genl. Greene with his division, hoping that these with Glover's

Brigade, which was on the march thro' Jersey and which I directed to file off to the left for the same purpose, and with such Militia as could be collected, would be able to defeat the Enemy's design and to preserve the Fort. But they were so rapid in their advance, that our Troops could not form a junction and arrive in time to succour the Garrison, which obliged them to withdraw. Genl Greene is still in Jersey and when Glover's Brigade joins him, if an Attack can be made on Lord Cornwallis with a prospect of success, I am persuaded it will be done. About a Hundred and Seventy of Morgans Corps are also gone to reinforce him.

Genls. Poor and Paterson with their Brigades and Colo Bailey with Learned's are now in Camp. The last arrived on Friday Evening. The Other two in the course of Yesterday. I have not yet obtained Returns of their strength but from the accounts of the Officers, they will amount in the whole to Twenty three or Twenty four Hundred rank and file. But I find many of them are very deficient in the Articles of Shoes, Stockings, Breeches and Blankets. Besides these, about 350 Men, detachments from Lee's Jackson's and Henley's Regiments, have joined me.

Yesterday Evening the Enemy burnt several Houses in the Neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and they have committed the most wanton spoil in many Others. I have the honor to be etc.[47]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 23, 1777.

Parole Greenwich. Countersigns Hartford, Leicester.

The Court of enquiry held the 18th. inst: of which Col. Humpton was president, to inquire into the conduct of Col. Price of the 2nd. Maryland regiment report as follows: "The Court after considering the evidences that appeared, are of opinion,

[47] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

that the reports circulating to the prejudice of Col. Thomas Price are without the least foundation."

The General Court Martial of the line ordered to sit to day, is to sit to morrow morning at 9 o'clock, at Genl. Huntington's late quarters.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 24, 1777.

Parole Newbern. Countersigns Norfolk, Oxford.

Information having been given that divers of the late sutlers, and some of the inhabitants have opened tippling houses within and adjacent to the encampment of the army, by which the design of banishing the Sutlers from the army is in a great measure frustrated. The Deputy Quarter Master General is required forthwith, to make diligent inquiry, and examination, for discovering such houses, and suppressing them, and to assure all who are driving this pernicious trade, that if continued any longer, their liquors shall be seized, and they expelled from the neighbourhood of the army, on pain of the severest punishment if they return.

The Legislature of the State of New Jersey, having made provision for supplying their troops with cloaths and blankets; all officers sent thither for the purpose of collecting those articles, are by their commanding officers to be immediately recalled.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, November 24, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 22d, it gives me great pleasure to find, that your Legislature have undertaken to procure a Quantity of Blankets and other Cloathing by civil Authority which mode ought ever to be adopted instead of the Military. I have given orders to have all the Officers who were

vested with powers to collect these Articles to be immediately recalled, except to Colo. Forman for whom you have a letter to that purpose.

I highly approve of the Measures you are taking to put a stop to the illicit Correspondence that is carrying on, between the Inhabitants upon the Sound and New York.[48] I am etc.[49]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, November 24, 1777.

Dear Sir: If you have not moved from Mount Holly when this comes to hand, I wish you to wait there till you see Colo. Meade, who will set off immediately charged with some important matters which I thought it improper to commit to paper. This however you are to understand under this restriction, that I do not mean to prevent you a moment from prosecuting any object you have immediately in view that promises success.[50] I am etc.[51]

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, November 25, 1777.

Sir: Your two favours of the 22d and that of the 24th Inst have been duly received. I thank you for your exertions to procure intelligence and hope they will be continued. I have inclosed

[48] A trade carried on from Elizabethtown, N. J., to Staten Island, N. Y., under pretense of obtaining intelligence. Governor Livingston issued warrants for the arrest of the worst of the offenders.

[49] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[50] According to Lord Stirling's report to Washington (November 25) on a proposed attack on the British works at Philadelphia, a council of war was held on November 24; no record of it appears to have survived, but its proceedings may be inferred from collateral documents. The question was on the advisability of an attack on Philadelphia and, after discussion, the Commander in Chief requested the opinion of each general officer in writing. These opinions disclosed 10 officers—Greene, Sullivan, Knox, Smallwood, Maxwell, Poor, Paterson, Irvine, Duportail, and Armstrong—opposed to an attack; and five—Stirling, Wayne, Scott, Woodford, and De Kalb—favored an attempt. Stirling's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[51] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

you a List of Questions to which I wish the most satisfactory Answers that can be obtaind. You will direct your Emissaries and Spies particularly on these Heads and will request their pointed attention to them.

I fear there is no foundation for the report of Lord Cornwallis's captivity. If the Fact was so, I should have received authentic intelligence of it before now. No persons employed by you, have been with me. I shall be glad to know who John Fox is whose permit you inclosed. Is he the person who carried on the Cutlary business in Philadelphia? I am etc.[52]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, 8 O'Clock P. M., November 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: Colo. Meade delivered me yours this morning as I was on my way to reconnoitre the Enemy's Lines from the West Side of Schuylkill. I had a full view of their left and found their works much stronger than I had reason to expect from the Accounts I had received. The Enemy have evacuated Carpenters Island and seem to be about doing the same by Province Island. Accounts from the City say Lord Cornwallis was expected back to day or to morrow, which corresponds with the information sent you by Genl. Weedon. All these movements make me suspicious that they mean to collect their whole force while ours is divided, and make an attack on the Army on this side. I therefore desire (except you have a plan or prospect of doing some thing to advantage) that you will rejoin me with your whole force as quick as possible. I have ordered all the Boats down to Burlington to give you dispatch, and when you have crossed, all those not necessary for the common use at the Ferries should be immediately sent up to Coryell's again.

[52]The text of this letter was kindly furnished by Mrs. John L. Sullivan, of York, Pa. The address sheet bears the indorsement: "Permit the Bearer to pass. Rob. H. Harrison, Secy."

Yours of Yesterday that appears to have been written before that sent by Colo. Meade has reached me since I got home. The Hospital at Burlington deserves your consideration; If you leave it uncovered and Lord Cornwallis should detach a party, the patients will certainly be made prisoners, I therefore beg you would endeavour to have them moved, or think of some way of giving them protection by posting some Militia or leaving some other Troops while the Enemy remain in that Quarter. The Hospital at Princeton also will be left naked, if the Enemy should move farther up, you will therefore leave them some cover, if you think there will be occasion. I am etc.

P. S. As leaving a Guard at princeton will still divide our force, if the patients could be removed further from thence, I think it would be far the better. I told Doctr. Shippen when he fixed it there, it would be dangerous.[53]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 25, 1777.

Parole Rutland. Countersigns Stafford, Troy.

For the information of the troops lately arrived, the General Order issued some time since is repeated; That *Tattoo* is not [to] be beaten in camp.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 26, 1777.

Parole Carlisle. Countersigns Derby, Dover.

If any Gentlemen of the army can give information to the General, of shoes, stockings or leather breeches, in quantities he will be exceedingly obliged to them. He will likewise be obliged to any of the General officers, for recommending proper persons to be employed in collecting these articles.

[53] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the P. S. is in that of Tench Tilghman.

General Smallwood, and the Colonels of the Maryland regiments are to meet to morrow morning, at nine o'clock, at General Smallwood's quarters, to state, as far as they can, the ranks of all other officers in those regiments, and the dates which their commissions ought to bear. Where there are competitions for rank among the Colonels, they are to state their claims.

The money for the payment of the army for September is expected every moment. The regimental Pay Masters are immediately to make out their Abstracts for the month of October, and deliver them to the Pay Master General for examination. As an alteration in the payment of rations is now under consideration of Congress, it is recommended to the commanding officers of regiments not to add their ration accounts, to the pay rolls, until their determination is known, which will be signified in General Orders. The Pay Master General has complained of the slovenly, careless manner in which some of the captains make out their pay rolls. The regimental Pay Masters are not to receive any but such as are made out fair, and agreeable to the form some time since given out, by the Pay Master General, which the regimental Pay Masters are to furnish such captains with, as have not already received the same.

No regimental Pay Master is to leave the service, without first applying to the Commander in Chief, nor any new pay Master appointed without first obtaining his approbation.

*To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

[November 26, 1777.]

Dear [Sir]: My letter of yester night (wrote after I returned from a view of the Enemy's lines from the other side Schuylkill) I must refer to. Our Situation, as you justly observe is distressing, from a variety of irremediable causes; but more especially

from the impracticability of answering the expectations of the world without running hazards which no military principles can justify, and which, in case of failure, might prove the ruin of our cause; patience, and a steady perseverance in such measures as appear warranted by sound reason and policy, must support us under the censure of the one, and dictate a proper line of conduct for the attainment of the other; that is the great object in view. this, as it ever has, will I think, ever remain the first wish of my heart, however I may mistake the means of accomplishment; that your views are the same, and that your endeavours have pointed to the same end, I am perfectly satisfied of, altho you seem to have imbibed a suspicion which I never entertained.

I can foresee [some] inconvenience, I can foresee losses, and I dare say I may add that I can foresee much dissatisfaction that will arise from the withdrawing the Continental troops from the Jerseys. But how is it to be avoided? We cannot be divided when the Enemy are collected. The evils which I apprehended from throwing troops into the Jersey's now stare me more forcibly in the face, and a day or two, if you cannot join us in that time, may realize them; for my mind scarce entertains a doubt but that Genl. Howe is collecting his whole force with a view of pushing at this Army. this, especially under the information you have received of Lord Cornwallis's recrossing the Delaware, induces me to press despatch upon you, that our junction may be formed as speedily as possible, and the consequences of a division avoided.

The current Sentiment, as far as I can collect it, with out making it a matter of question, is in favour of our taking Post the other side Delaware; in this case the Jerseys will be left totally uncovered; consequently all the Craft in the River, with their Rigging, Guns, &c.; the Hospitals on that side of the river, the Magazines of Provisions which the commissaries are

establishing in the upper part of Jersey, &c. think therefore I beseech you, of all these things and prepare yourself by reflection and observation (being on the spot) to give me your advice on these sevl. Matters. The Boats (those belonging to the Public, and built for the purpose of transporting Troops, &c. across the River) ought in my judgment to be removed, as soon so they have served your prest. calls, up to Coryell's Ferry at least if not higher. I am also Inclined to think (if we should cross the Schuylkill) that they ought to be carted over also.

I shall only add that your Letters of 12 O'clock and 4 yesterday have both come to hand and since I began this, and that I am etc.

It has been proposed that some of the galleys should fall down to or near the Mouth of Frankfort Creek, in order to prevent Troops coming up by Water, and falling in the Rear of our pickets near the Enemy's Lines; will you discuss with the Commodore on this subject? Will you also ask what is become of the hands that were on board the Vessels which were burnt.[54]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, November 26–27, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday Morning honored with your Favors of the 22d Inst.[55] I wish the measures Congress have adopted may effectually suppress the disturbances in the Western Department.[56] Should they prove Successful and the Savages and wicked deluded Inhabitants receive a severe check, it is probable they

[54] From a mutilated copy in the *Nathanael Greene's Papers* in the Library of Congress. The text is a combination of this original and the printed text in Greene's *Life of Nathanael Greene*, which was before the mutilation had progressed to the present state.

[55] The letter from the President of Congress is inadvertently dated November 28 in the "President's Letter Book."

[56] This letter inclosed the resolves of Congress of November 20, appointing three commissioners to repair to Fort Pitt to investigate the frontier troubles, engage the Delawares and Shawanese Indians in the friendship and services of the United States, aid in every military activity, and arrange an expedition against Detroit. Also Washington was requested to send Col. William Crawford to Pittsburgh to act under General Hand.

will not be induced again to take a part against us, or at least for some considerable time. Colo Crawford set out yesterday Evening and will be with Congress, I expect, in the course of Two or three Days to take their Commands.

I was much obliged by the Foreign intelligence you were pleased to transmit me. It is agreeable and interesting and I heartily wish there may be an early declaration of Hostilities between France and Britain. From these advices, things seem to be getting in a proper train for it, and it is not easily to be conceived, that it can be much longer delayed. However, our expectations have not been answered in this instance, and they may yet be held in suspence. The Political reasons that lead to delay, on the part of France, I do not perfectly understand: As to Britain, her honor is lost in the Contest with us, and the most indignant insults will scarcely be able to draw her attention from her present pursuits. The account of Mr. Lee having effected the purposes of his embassy at the Court of Berlin, is of great importance, if it be true. In such case, administration however desirous they may be, will probably be disappointed in their schemes of further mercenary aids against us.[57]

I must take the liberty to request the decision of Congress on the case of the Nine First raised Virginia Regiments as early as circumstances will permit. If the plan proposed for reinlisting them is Judged expedient, one capital inducement to that end suggested by the Officers, will cease, if it is longer delayed. It is a matter of considerable importance, and of which I wish to be satisfied as soon as possible. I should also be happy in their determination respecting the Marquis de la Fayette. He is more

[57]Arthur Lee's mission to Berlin accomplished little, though he put the best face possible upon it. Some of his letters on the subject are printed in Sparks's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution,* 2, 65, 68, 70, 76, 87, 103, and 197. Great Britain's failure to obtain mercenary troops from Russia was due to other causes than Lee's activity, and reenforcements from Germany continued to go to America.

and more solicitous to be in actual service, and is pressing in his applications for a Command. I ventured before, to submit my Sentiments upon the measure, and I still fear a refusal will not only induce him to return in disgust, but may involve some unfavorable consequences. There are now some vacant Divisions in the Army, to one of which he may be appointed, if it should be the pleasure of Congress.

I am convinced he possesses a large share of that Military ardor, which generally characterises the Nobility of his Country. He went to Jersey with Genl Greene and I find he has not been inactive there. This you will perceive by the following Extract from a letter just received from Genl Greene.

> The Marquis with about 400 Militia and the Rifle Corps, attacked the Enemie's Picket last Evening, killed about 20, wounded many more and took about 20 Prisoners. The Marquis is charmed with the spirited behaviour of the Militia and Rifle Corps. They drove the Enemy above half a Mile and kept the ground untill dark. The Enemys Picket consisted of about 300 and were reinforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger.[58]

By a Letter from Genl. Howe to General Burgoyne which passed thro' my hands, he hinted that liberty might probably be granted for the Prisoners to embark at Rhode Island or some part of the sound. This Indulgence appearing to me inadmissible, I immediately wrote to Genl. Heath to prevent him giving the least countenance to the measure in case it should be requested, and also to the Council of Massachusetts State and Genl. Gates, lest he should extend his applications to them. The reasons I am persuaded will at once occur to Congress for my conduct in this instance, as well as Genl. Howe's; and I have been induced to mention it here on a supposition that Genl.

[58] Greene's letter, dated Nov. 26, 1777, from which this extract was taken, is in the *Washington Papers*.

Burgoyne may address them on the subject. If the embarkation is confined to Boston, it is likely that it will not take place before some time in the Spring, or at least till towards the end of February, whereas if it were allowed at either of the other places, it might be made this Month or the beginning of next and the Troops arrive in Britain by the Month of January. A circumstance of great importance to us, as the moment they get there, the most scrupulous and virtuous observance of the Convention, will Justify the Ministry in placing them in Garrison and sending others out to reinforce Genl. Howe, or upon any other expedition they may think proper to undertake against us. Besides, compelling their Transports to perform a long coasting voyage, at a tempestuous season, may bring on the loss of many and be the means of deferring the embarkation for a long time.

I must request you to transmit me a Number of blank Commissions as soon as you have an opportunity to do it. There are several vacancies yet to fill, and the officers entitled to them are anxious to be appointed. The Commissions I want should be under your signature and not Mr. Hancock's. I mention this, lest you should send any of the latter that might remain. Those signed by you will be competent to all cases. Those by Mr. Hancock only to such as happened during his Presidency and of those I now have some.

November 27.

Inclosed you will receive a Copy of Genl. Howe's Letter in answer to mine of the 14th and 23d which only came to hand last night, and at an Instant when I was giving the Commissary of Prisoners instructions, forthwith to confine a number of the Officers in our hands and to put the Privates under very different restrictions from those they have been used to. I am

in hopes the treatment of ours will be much better in future. Mr. Boudinot will immediately take Measures for releasing the Officers on Parole that we may releive an equal number of ours. I should have been happy to have effected a Genl. Exchange or a partial one, but Genl. Howe will not upon any terms but those he has ever insisted upon.

The Enemy have got up several of their Ships to the City. It is likely they have found a passage through the Chevaux de frize or they may have removed one of them. I have the honor etc.[59]

To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Camp at White Marsh 12 miles from Philadelphia,
November 26, 1777.

Dear Brother: Your letters of the 26th. of Octr. and 7th. inst. have come safe to hand; by the last it would appear that a letter which I wrote you about the 18th. of October had not reached you, which I am exceeding sorry for as, to the best of my recollection I wrote you very fully on the posture of our affairs, and should be exceedingly concerned if it should have fallen into the hands of the Enemy, or some disaffected rascal, who would make an improper use of it. In that letter which upon second thoughts I put under cover to Col. Lewis,[60] open, as I had not time to write two, that he might also be apprized of our situation. I enclosed one to my sister, thanking her for the nice and elegant stockings she was obliging enough to send me, accompanied by an affectionate letter written I think in June; but which with the Stockings, never got to my hands till about the 15th. of last month. If those letters of mine to you and her, have miscarried which I shall be exceedingly sorry for; I shall be obliged to you now to thank my sister for the present, and

[59] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[60] Col. Fielding Lewis.

assure her that I shall set great store by them, and will wear them for her sake.

Red Bank or Fort Mercer being little more than an aid to Fort Mifflin was evacuated about 4 days ago, upon a large body of troops being thrown over the river for the purpose of reducing it. So soon as I got information of the design, I also detached pretty largely in hopes of saving the Fort; but the Enemy having a small distance to go, and great convenience of crossing, whilst we were deficient in the latter, and had a circuitous rout to march by: it was found impracticable; and now I have only to lament my having made the detachments, as by intelligence, the Enemy are recrossing to Philadelphia, and may in our divided state fall upon us with their whole force; which would not gibe well with our present circumstances. I have however ordered them back with all possible expedition, and shall look for them in a couple of days. When they arrive, with the assistance of some of the Northern Troops, which have joined us within these few days from Genl. Gates, we shall be on a more respectable footing, than we have been the whole campaign: but unfortunately, before this junction happened the Enemy had fortified themselves so strongly that it is now impossible to attack them with the least hopes of success. They have also by removing the obstructions in the river, got up their shipping to the City and of consequence their provisions, stores &c., had the reinforcement from the Northward arrived but ten days sooner it would I think have put it in my power to have saved Fort Mifflin which defended the Cheveaux de Frieze, and consequently have rendered Philadelphia a very ineligable situation for them this winter. They have also received a reinforcement from New York, but not quite so large I believe as ours. With truth I believe I may add, that till within these few days, I have never (notwithstanding the numbers given me by

the world, and which it was not my interest to contradict) had as many Men in the field, under my immediate command, as Genl. Howe has had under his; although we have fought him twice, and prevented him hitherto from obtaining other advantages than that of possessing himself of the City; which but for the eclat it is attended with, brings no solid advantage to their arms. The Militia which have been called upon in aid of our Troops; (Continental I mean) have come out in such a manner, that before you could get a second class of them, the first were always gone; by which means although the sound of them was great; you never could increase your real numbers, and strength.

The attack upon Red Bank, als. Fort Mercer, sometime ago, followed by the loss of at least 400 Hessians killed and wounded with their leader Count Donop, as also the burning of the Augusta Man of War of 64 Guns, and the Merlin Sloop of 18, is true. Indeed the number of Men lost at the Attack of Fort Mercer is said to be much more than 400. That many we are sure of. At different times during the siege of Fort Mifflin they lost many men. The above ships however were not destroyed by either Fire Rafts, or our Galleys. The first took fire by accident, and blew up. The other getting aground and apprehending danger from the explosion of the Augusta, was set fire to by the crew and abandoned, both these things though happened during the attack on the Fort.

My love attends my sister, the young married couple, and the rest of your family. My Compliments to all friends; and with sincere regard I am, etc.

P. S. I expect part of the Troops which I sent to Jerseys, back tonight, and the residue in a day or two.[61]

[61] The text is from a recent copy in the *Washington Papers*

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, November 27, 1777.

Sir: I have yours of Yesterday, and am obliged for the particular information which you give to the points which I gave you in charge.

As I have now got the necessary information as to the Enemy's Works, position, &c., what your Friends will particularly attend to, will be, the Return of Lord Cornwallis and his Troops, and what appears after that, to be their intentions. Whether to sit down in quarters for the Winter, or to seek this Army, Some late accounts looks as if a War in Europe was not far distant. Persons yesterday from the City mentioned that they heard it talked of among the Officers, desire your Friends to inquire particularly into this Matter. Desire Genl. Potters Quarter Master to furnish you with a horse till your own is fit for Service. I am, etc.[62]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 27, 1777.

Sir: I was duly favored with yours of the 11th Inst. The inattention of the Officers to the dress of their Men has been, I believe, one principal Cause of their present bareness and want of Cloathing. I have repeatedly given positive orders, that such a list of necessaries as you call a Rag Roll, should be kept and the Articles Weekly inspected; but that like too many other wholesome Regulations, has generally passed unnoticed and until the Officers are taught, by a course of regular discipline, to pay strict obedience to *General* Orders, many things must and will remain undone that ought to be done; for it is impossible for me to see them carried into execution personally. That

[62] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The text is from a photograph in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

I am endeavouring to reform the Army, will appear by the great number of severe sentences of Courts Martial that have lately passed. But I very much fear, that many valuable Officers will leave the service at the end of the Campaign; some, because the excessive high price of every Article of life, renders it impossible to live upon their pay alone, and others, on account of that lavish distribution of high military Rank to persons upon the Staff of the Army, which sets them above their duty and makes a Man of Spirit look upon any Commission under the degree of a field Officer with Contempt. Altho' as I have before said, great fault is to be laid upon the Carelessness of the Officers, yet allowance is to be made for the ordinary quality of a great deal of the Cloathing. I assure you many of the Regiments have fairly worn out their Uniforms, and that is the Reason why Suits are again called for, for those who have been supplied before.

We shall never proceed regularly in the Cloathing of our Men until we have a sufficient Stock to deliver out their yearly allowance at one time. They will then perhaps take more care of what they get, as they will know, that anything further, will certainly be deducted from their pay. But at present it is difficult to determine, whether many of them have or have not had the quantity allowed by Congress.

I can only hope that time and experience, which brings all things to perfection will at length have the desired effect upon the Manners of our Army. I can only say, that no exertions of Mine have or shall be wanting to forward this work. I am &ca.[63]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 27, 1777.

Parole Glocester. Countersigns Bedford, Berwick.

A detachment of 300 men are to parade to morrow morning on the Grade-parade, precisely at half past three o'clock in

[63] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the morning. Col. David Hall,[64] Lt. Col. Craig[65] and Major Tyler[66] are appointed Field Officers for the detachment.

Twelve light dragoons are to go on the same command, and to repair this evening to Col. Biddle's quarters.

AFTER ORDERS

A detachment of 100 men to be under the command of Capt. McLane, are to parade tomorrow morning at sun-rise, on the grand parade, with one or two days provisions and boxes full of ammunition. They will be absent from camp one week, near the enemy's lines, and are to go prepared accordingly.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White Marsh, November 28, 1777.

Parole Annapolis. Countersigns Boston, Charlestown.

At a General Court Martial held the 24th. instant, of which Col. Grayson was president, Major Ross,[67] charged with "Leaving his arms in the field, in the action of the 4th. of October near Germantown," was tried, and acquitted with the highest honor. The Commander in Chief approves the court's judgment. Major Ross is released from his arrest.

The General Court Martial of which Col. Grayson is president, is to sit to morrow morning, at the tavern next to Col. Biddle's quarters.

AFTER ORDERS

Such of the troops as are not already furnished with cooked provisions for to morrow, are to draw and cook them to night.

[64] Of the Delaware regiment. He was wounded at Germantown, Pa.; later was Governor of Delaware.

[65] Lieut. Col. Thomas(?) Craig, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

[66] Maj. John Steel Tyler, of Jackson's Additional Continental regiment. He resigned in March, 1779; served subsequently as lieutenant colonel of Massachusetts Militia.

[67] Maj. David Ross, of Grayson's Additional Continental regiment. He resigned in December, 1777.

At day break a cannon will be fired as a signal for the whole army to parade, ready to march. When the whole are completely formed, they may ground their arms,[68] but be ready to take them up again at a minute's warning. If it should rain or snow the men are not to parade.

Lord Sterling's division is to parade at one o'clock in the morning.

To CAPTAIN ALLEN McLANE

Head Quarters, November 28, 1777.

Sir: I have certain information that Lord Cornwallis returned from Jersey Yesterday; and 'tis said they intend an Attack upon this Army with their joint force before Genl. Green can rejoin us. I therefore depend upon your keeping a very good look out upon their line, and gaining every intelligence from people coming out of Town, that I may have the earliest Notice of their Movements or Intentions. I am, etc.[69] [N.Y.H.S.]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, November 28, 1777.

Sir: In Answer to your Letter of the instant,[70] which came to hand on Wednesday Evening, I am to inform you, that I accede to the proposition contained therein, and have directed measures to be immediately taken for releasing all your Officers upon the Condition you mention. At the same time, I wish that a more extensive relief had been agreeable to you.

I have sent Mr. Boudinot to examine into the State and Wants of the Prisoners, who are in Philadelphia, and request that he may obtain your permission for the same. He will also have an Opportunity of agreeing with your Commissary, upon

[68] Lay the arms on the ground, in front of them.

[69] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[70] Howe's letter was dated November and is filed in the *Washington Papers* at the end of that month, 1777.

the form and terms of Parole for the Officers to be mutually released, which I presume, may not be improper in order to prevent any misunderstanding on that head.

Passports shall be granted for the Commissaries or Quarter Masters you may appoint to carry supplies to the Prisoners in our hands, when you chuse to apply for them. Two will only be necessary; one for the Person assigned to go to the Eastward, the other for the Officer having supplies for the Prisoners in Pensylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Mr. Boudinot will also inform your commissary, of the proportion of Prisoners in each Quarter.

When Major Stockdon[71] was first captured, I believe that he and one or two Officers taken with him, suffered the Treatment which you mention. This was without my privity or consent; as soon as I was apprized of it, relief was ordered. But surely this Event, which happened so long ago, will not Authorize the charges in your Letter of the 6th. In a word, I shall be happy, as I ever have been, to render the situation of all Prisoners in my hands as comfortable as I can; and nothing will induce me to depart from this rule, but a contrary line of Conduct to those in your possession. Captivity of itself is sufficiently greivious, and it is cruel to add to its distresses. I am etc.[72]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: The inclosed remonstrance was laid before me by Colo. Drake and Mr. Hunt Commissioners appointed in the County of West Chester to take care of all Forage and property exposed to the depredations of the Enemy, and also

[71] Maj. Richard W. Stockton, of Brig. Gen. Cortlandt Skinner's New Jersey Volunteers, British provincial troops. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Feb. 20, 1777, *ante*.)

[72] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; a copy by John Laurens is also in the *Washington Papers*.

Commissioners of Sequestration to dispose of the personal property of those who have fled to or joined the Enemy.

They complain, that parties from your Army frequently take property which they pretend is going to, or is within reach of the Enemy and make sale of it for their own benefit, pretending they do it by Virtue of a General order issued by me in Jersey last Spring.

That they may be under no misapprehension of that order in future I now declare that it was only meant to extend to such property as shall be actually taken from the Enemy by force of Arms, which I directed to be divided among the Captors as an encouragement to them.

I therefore desire that for the future all property of what kind soever, that shall be removed from the Neighbourhood of the Enemy's lines, whether it belong to persons well or ill affected, shall be delivered to the Commissioners appointed by the State, to be by them disposed of in such manner as they shall think proper. If the Army is in want of the forage or provision so removed or taken, the Commissaries or Quarter Master are to purchase it of the Commissioners. This will entirely quiet the Inhabitants who upon the plan that has lately been adopted, find the Army their oppressors instead of protectors. I am &ca.[73]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE OR BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM OR JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

Head Quarters, 7 O'Clock P. M., November 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: Captn. Duplessis has just delivered me yours of this morning from Burlington. Every account from Philadelphia

[73] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

confirms the report that the Enemy mean to make a speedy move. I shall not be disappointed if they come out this night or very early in the morning. You will therefore push forward the Rear Brigades with all possible expedition, and the moment that the Troops and Baggage have all passed, let the Boats be instantly sent up the River to Coryells ferry; for one part of my information is, that the Enemy are preparing to send Boats up the Delaware, and it cannot be for any other purpose, than to destroy the remainder of our Water Craft. I shall be glad that you would come on immediately upon the receipt of this, and send word back to the Brigadiers to hasten their march. I am &ca.

P. S. If Genl. Green should not be found, Genl. Varnum or Huntington will be pleased to do what is directed above. And send word to the Captains of the Gallies to fall lower down the River to meet any Boats that may be coming up to annoy the passage of the Troops or Baggage.[74]

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, November 29, 1777.

Gentn.: I am favored with yours of the 20th. I see no reason for changing my former opinion, in respect to sinking the frigates to insure their safety. If they are weighed again and converted into Barracks for the seamen, they must be brought near the Shore and when the frost sets in, they cannot be sunk, should the Enemy approach at such time. I however leave the matter to your judgment.

The Hulls of the Vessels will be all that are necessary for Barracks, if you should determine to put them to that use. The Sails, Rigging and all other stores of them and the Vessels that

[74] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

have been burn't, should be removed to some distance from the Water Side. I am, etc.[75]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 29, 1777.

Parole Kensington. Countersigns Newtown, Princeton.

The officers commanding regiments are to see, that their men's arms are put in the best order possible; and of the loaded ones, such as can be drawn, are to be drawn, and the others discharged the first fair day, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; but to prevent the waste of *lead,* the men of each regiment, or brigade, are to discharge their pieces, into a bank of earth, from whence the lead may be taken again.

A court of enquiry is to sit to morrow morning at nine o'clock, at Col. Gist's quarters, to enquire into the conduct of Capt. Edward Scull of the 4th. Pennsylvania regiment in "Ordering the Pay Master of that regiment to pay Capt. Weitz[76] a sum of money, for a purpose suggested to be unwarrantable." Col. Gist is appointed president of this court. Lieut. Col. Barber[77] and Major Ross are to be members.

Col. Spencer is appointed president, and Major Bayard and a Captain of Col. Lee's regiment members, of a Court of enquiry to sit to morrow morning at ten o'clock, at the president's quarters to inquire into the conduct of Lieut. Reynolds of Col. Malcom's regt: for "Abusing Daniel Messerly Esqr. and other persons on the 2nd. of last August," as exhibited in their depositions.

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[75] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[76] Capt. Caspar Weitzel(?), formerly of Miles's Rifle Regiment.

[77] Lieut. Col. Francis Barber, of the Third New Jersey Regiment. He was wounded at Monmouth, N. J., in June, 1778; at Newtown, N. Y., in August, 1779; and at Yorktown, Va., in October, 1781; colonel of the Second New Jersey Regiment in January, 1783; accidentally killed by a falling tree in February, 1783.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 30, 1777.

Parole Northampton. Countersigns Greenland, Portsmouth.

On the 25th of November instant, the Honorable Continental Congress passed the following resolve, vizt:

Resolved. That General Washington be directed to publish in General orders, that Congress will speedily take into consideration the merits of such officers as have distinguished themselves by their intrepidity and their attention to the health and discipline of their men; and adopt such regulations as shall tend to introduce order and good discipline into the army, and to render the situation of the officers and soldiery, with respect to cloathing and other necessaries, more eligible than it has hitherto been.

Forasmuch as it is the indispensible duty of all men, to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God; to acknowledge with gratitude their obligations to him for benefits received, and to implore such further blessings as they stand in need of; and it having pleased him, in his abundant mercy, not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his common providence, but also, to smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, for the defence of our unalienable rights and liberties.[78]

It is therefore recommended by Congress, that Thursday the 18th. day of December next be set apart for Solemn Thanksgiving and Praise; that at one time, and with one voice, the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their divine benefactor; and that, together with their sincere acknowledgements and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their sins; and supplications for such further blessings as they stand in need of. The Chaplains will properly notice this recommendation, that the day of thanksgiving may be duly observed in the army, agreeably to the intentions of Congress.

[78] This preliminary statement was taken from the resolve of Congress of November 1 recommending the States to set apart a day of Thanksgiving. It was forwarded to Washington on November 7 and answered by him on November 10.

AFTER ORDERS

The whole army are to be under arms to morrow morning, at five o'clock, if it should not rain or snow. Lord Stirling's division are to lay upon their arms and be ready to turn out at a minute's warning.

To JAMES MEASE

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: There are such variety of applications constantly, for matters that concern your Department, that I find it absolutely necessary you should be with the Army. This you may now do without any public inconvenience, as you have no store of goods by you to draw your attention. I therefore desire you may repair immediately to Head Quarters, and endeavour to form and fall upon some plan, in concert with the Officers from the different States, for the more effectual supply of their Troops. I am etc.[79]

POWERS TO OFFICERS TO COLLECT CLOTHING, ETC.

Head Quarters, November , 1777.

By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Honorable Congress I hereby Authorize to collect all such Blankets, Shoes, Stocking and other Clothing suitable to the use of the Army, within the Counties of in the State of Pennsylvania, as the Inhabitants can spare without greatly distressing their Families. In doing this you are to take care, that, the unfriendly Quakers and others notoriously disaffected to the cause of American Liberty do not escape your Vigilance. You are to give Certificates to the Inhabitants of the Quantity and

[79] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Value of each Species you receive from them, directed to James Mease Esqr. Clothier General at Lancaster of which you are to keep an exact entry; And at the End of this Service you are to make an exact return of each Certificate to the Clothier General and another to me. Whatever Blankets and Clothing you may collect, is to be sent, with an account of it, to the Commanding Officer of the Brigade you belong to.[80]

*REMARKS ON PLAN OF FIELD OFFICERS FOR REMODELING THE ARMY[81]

November, 1777.

To abolish Colonial distinctions, however desirable it may be, is next to impossible. Great pains in the early part of this war was used, in vain, to do this; but even in the New England States, where the Sentiments, and customs of the People have an exact semilarity, it was found impracticable.

The new modeling of the Army, and reducing supernumerary officers is a very desirable matter, and ought, if possible, to take place; but quære, would not such a total change in our military system, as is proposed, occasion too great a convulsion? would not the number of rejected Officers promote discontent and disorder among the common Soldiery? nay even Mutiny and desertion.

The allowance of Land to the disbanded Officers may be proper enough, but will not half pay be attended with enormous expence? and would not this, and allowing half pay to

[80] The draft is in the writing of Lord Stirling.

[81] Cols. Theodorick Bland, Mordecai Gist, Josias Carvil Hall, Thomas Hartley, and Robert Lawson; Lieut. Col. James Innis and Majs. John Taylor and Henry Miller signed a letter to the Commander in Chief, inclosing a 10-page opinion on the "proposed New Establishment and regulations of the Army," which is filed with the above Remarks in the *Washington Papers*. A rejoinder of the field officers to Washington's "Remarks," dated by Washington, November, 1777, is also filed in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

the Officers of reduced regiments at the end of the War, add such weight to a debt already, and probably will be, of such magnitude, as to sink the Colonies under the load of it; and give great disgust to the people at large?

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 1, 1777.

Sir: On Saturday I had the Honor to receive your Favor of the 26th Ulto. with its Inclosures.

The Resolve of the 25th, I have published in Orders,[82] agreeable to directions, and shall be happy, if Congress can fall upon measures to render the situation of the Officers and Soldiery more eligible, than what it now is. At present it is truly distressing, and unless some means can be devised to support them more comfortably, we shall have to apprehend the most alarming consequences. The Officers, or at least a large proportion of them, as well as the Men, are in a most disagreable condition as to Cloathing, and without any certain prospect of relief; And what is still more painful, if perchance they have an Opportunity of purchasing, which is seldom the case, they have the Mortification to find themselves totally incompetent to it, from the depreciation of our Money and the exorbitant price demanded for All Articles in this way. This is the source of great uneasiness, of indifference to the Service and of repeated, I may say daily, applications to leave it, and these too, by as good Officers as are in the American line. In respect to promotions for merit and intrepidity, I would beg leave to observe, that tho' these are proper considerations to found them upon, yet they should be made with the greatest caution and attention, and only in cases of the most eminent and distinguish'd services.

[82] See General Orders, Nov. 30, 1776, *ante*.

Every promotion or rise out of the common course cannot fail to excite uneasiness in a greater or lesser degree, and Nothing will reconcile them to the Army at large and particularly the Officers more immediately affected by them, but where the causes are known and acknowledged. This I mention from my wishes to promote the Public interest; from my knowing that Harmony is essential to this end, and from no other motives whatever.

Before the receipt of your Favor, I do not recollect to have heard of John Limper's case. His Brother has not been with me; As soon as he arrives, I shall give directions for him to be released from his present confinement and to be forwarded to Cecil County.

I have nothing material to inform you of. Lord Cornwallis and the Detachment under his command, mentioned in my last, returned from Jersey on Thursday. We had reason to expect an Attack since from our advices from the City, but have been disappointed. Genl Greene has also joined me, with all the Troops that were with him, except Huntington's Brigade, which will be in to day. I have the honor to be etc.[83]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 1, 1777.

Parole Durham. Countersigns Brunswick, Amboy.

Mr. Robert Duncan is appointed Paymaster to the fourth North Carolina regiment, and is to be respected as such.

A General Court Martial is to sit to morrow at 9 o'clock in the morning at the tavern next to Col. Biddle's quarters, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Col. Ogden is appointed president of this court. Lieut. Cols.

[83]In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Simms, Wallace and Major North and a captain from the 1st. and 2nd. Pennsylv: Maxwell's, Conway's, Woodford's, Scott's, Poor's, Paterson's, and Learned's brigades are to be members of the court.

The Officers are to make out their Muster Rolls to the first of December, immediately. The term of time, which the men inlisted for, is to be inserted in every muster roll. The non-effectives are not to be inserted a second time.

Officers must pay strict attention to the orders issued respecting this part of their duty.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White-Marsh, December 2, 1777.

Parole Chatham. Countersigns Camden, Burke.

Returns are to be made early to morrow morning of all officers and men in the several brigades and corps, who have not had the small pox.

Every colonel, or officer commanding a regiment, or corps, is to make an immediate return, to the Pay Master General, of every pay mr. that has belonged to, or done duty as such, in any regiment or corps, the place of their abode, and the time when they left the service.

AFTER ORDERS

Whenever the Alarm is given, by the firing of three cannon, the whole baggage and provisions of the army, tents included, are to be put into the waggons, and immediately marched off the following roads. The right wing of both lines by the North Wales road, and the road by Edge's mill, and to proceed to the 24th. milestone on those roads, unless further order is received. The left wing of both lines by the two roads which lead from the left of the army into the old York Road, at the 13th–15th

Milestones, and to proceed to the 24th. milestone, or until further orders.

Whether the alarm guns be fired or not, the whole army is to be under arms at their respective alarm posts at day light to morrow morning, and the lines properly formed by the Major General in their respective commands.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 2, 1777.

Dear Sir: The importance of the North River in the present contest and the necessity of defending it, are Subjects which have been so frequently and so fully discussed and are so well understood, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them. These facts at once appear, when it is considered that it runs thro' a whole State; That it is the only passage by which the Enemy from New York or any part of our Coast, can ever hope to Cooperate with an Army that may come from Canada; That the possession of it is indispensibly essential to preserve the Communication between the Eastern, Middle and Southern States; And further, that upon its security, in a great measure, depend our chief supplies of Flour for the subsistence of such Forces as we may have occasion for, in the course of the War, either in the Eastern or Northern Departments, or in the Country lying high up on the west side of it. These facts are familiar to all, they are familiar to you. I therefore request you in the most urgent terms, to turn your most serious and active attention to this very and infinitely important object. Seize the present opportunity and employ your whole force and all the means in your power for erecting and compleating, as far as it shall be possible, such works and obstructions as may be necessary to defend and secure the River against any future attempts of the Enemy. You will consult Govr. Clinton, Genl. Parsons and

the French Engineer Colo. La Radiere, upon the occasion. By gaining the passage, you know the Enemy have already laid waste and destroyed all the Houses, Mills and Towns accessible to them. Unless proper measures are taken to prevent them, they will renew their Ravages in the Spring, or as soon as the season will admit, and perhaps Albany the only Town in the State of any importance remaining in our hands, may undergo a like fate and a general Havock and devastation take place.

To prevent these Evils, therefore, I shall expect that you will exert every nerve and employ your Whole force in future, while and whenever it is practicable, in constructing and forwarding the proper works and means of defence. They must not be kept out on command and acting in Detachments to cover the Country below, which is a consideration infinitely less important and interesting. I am etc.[84]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, December 2, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday favd. with yours of the 23d Novemr. and am glad to find that you were upon your guard against any attempt of Genl. Burgoyne to endeavour to change the place of embarkation. No Transports have yet sailed from the Delaware for the purpose of carrying the Troops to Europe, nor do I hear that any have gone from New York. I can only attribute this delay to want of provision for the Voyage. Bread we know is exceedingly scarce among them.

By Resolve of Congress of the 5th. Novemr. (Copy of which I perceive by the Resolve itself has been transmitted to you) you are directed, with a certain part of the northern Army and the assistance of the Militia of New York and the Eastern States,

[84] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

to attempt the recovery of the posts upon the North River from the Enemy, and to put them, if recovered, in the best posture of defence. The Enemy having themselves vacated Forts Montgomery and Clinton while the Resolve was in agitation, but of which the Congress could not at the time be informed, the first part falls of course; but the last deserves our most serious attention, as upon the possession of the North River depends the security of all the upper part of the Government of New York and the communication between the Eastern, middle and southern States. It is also the Quarter in which the Enemy will probably attempt a diversion in the Spring, as, from the small force remaining in Canada, there is not a possibility of their doing any thing on that side till very late in the Campaign, if at all.

My not having heard from you, what Steps you have taken towards carrying the Resolve, for repairing the old Works or building new, into execution, or when you might be expected down into that part of the Country, has made me hitherto delay recalling Genl. Putnam from the command. But I beg leave to urge to you the necessity of your presence in that quarter as speedily as possible for I fear few or no measures have yet been taken towards putting matters in a proper train for carrying on these important Works.

Genl. George Clinton will necessarily be employed in the affairs of his Government, but I have wrote to him for, and I am certain he will call for and contribute all the Aid that the State of New York can possibly afford. You are vested by the Resolve of Congress to demand a proportionable Share of Assistance from the Eastern States.

I observe, by a paragraph in the Fishkill paper of some days later date than your Letter, that the Enemy had evacuated Ticonderoga, and Independence. If this should have happened, it will not only releive your attention from that object, but it

will enable you to draw the Force which you might have intended to watch the operations of the Enemy in that quarter, lower down the River.

Lieutt. Colo. Willet, who was here a few days ago, mentioned that Gansevoort's Regiment was at Fort Schuyler, and Van Schaicks at Schenectady. He seemed of opinion, from his knowledge of that Country, and from the disposition of the Indians since your success to the Northward, that a much less Garrison than the whole of Gansevoorts Regiment would be Sufficient for Fort Schuyler, and that the remainder of that and Van Schaicks might be brought down the Country. Your own knowledge and Judgment will undoubtedly point out the propriety or safety of such a measure. I barely mention Colo. Willets opinion of the matter.

You must be so well convinced of the importance of the North River, that nothing more need be said to induce you to set about the security of it with the greatest vigour. I some time ago sent up Lt. Colo. La Radiere to Fishkill to assist in carrying on the Works; but if he, with the Gentlemen who was before with you, should not be sufficient, I can send up another who I beleive is a Master of his profession.

Genl. Howe has withdrawn himself close within his lines, which extend from the upper Ferry upon Schuylkill to Kensington upon Delaware. They consist of a Chain of strong Redoubts, connected by Abattis. We have reconnoitered them well, but find it impossible to attack them while defended by a force fully equal to our own in Continental Troops. The Reinforcement from New York unluckily arriving before ours from the Northward, it was out of my power to afford adequate relief to Fort Mifflin, which fell after a most gallant defence of seven Weeks. The Works upon the Jersey Shore, which were

not tenable, after the Reduction of Fort Mifflin, were evacuated, as it would have been impossible to have supported the Garrison there. We have not yet determined upon a position for the Army during the Winter. That Situation will undoubtedly be most eligible, which will afford best cover to the Troops, and will at the same time cut off the Enemy from Resources of provisions, which they may probably stand in need of, when the Navigation of Delaware is obstructed by the Ice. I am &ca.[85]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To JOSEPH REED

Whitemarsh, December 2, 1777.

Dear Sir: If you can with any convenience let me see you today, I shall be thankful for it. I am about fixing the winter cantonments of this army, and find so many and such capital objections to each mode proposed, that I am exceedingly embarrassed, not only by the advice given me, but in my own judgment, and should be very glad of your sentiments on the subject, without loss of time.[86] In hopes of seeing you, I shall only add that from Reading to Lancaster inclusively, is the general sentiment, whilst Wilmington and its vicinity has powerful advocates. This, however, is mentioned under the rose;

[85] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft varies in a few minor verbal particulars from the letter sent.

[86] According to Lord Stirling's opinion on the selection of winter quarters for the Army, 1777–78, dated Dec. 1, 1777, a council of general officers was held on November 30, but no record of the proceedings of this council is found in the *Washington Papers*. From Lafayette's opinion, also dated Dec. 1, 1777, it seems that three different locations were proposed to the council: First, a line from the Schuylkill River to Bethlehem; second, a line from Reading to Lancaster; third, Wilmington, Del. A summary of the opinions obtained is found in a memorandum in Robert Hanson Harrison's writing, indorsed by Washington, "Opinions summed up," which show six generals—Greene, Lafayette, Armstrong, Smallwood, Wayne, and Scott—in favor of Wilmington; nine—Sullivan, De Kalb, Maxwell, Knox, Poor, Muhlenberg, Varnum, Weedon, and Woodford—for the Lancaster-Reading line; Lord Stirling for the Great Valley; Du Portail and Irvine for hutting in a strong position; and Pulaski for a winter campaign. Harrison's memorandum is in the *Washington Papers*.

for I am convinced in my own opinion, that if the enemy believed we had this place in contemplation, they would possess themselves of it immediately.[87] I am, etc.[88]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, December 2, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have this day received your favour of 28th. Ulto. and can only say it gives me concern that your Excursion to Staten Island was not attended with success equal to your expectation which, from the Plan you had formed, and the secrecy with which you expected to have executed it, I suppose was pretty Sanguine; but experience shews us that the most trifling incidents will frustrate the best concerted schemes, and as Mr. Skinner had notice of your approach, I think you may be satisfied with the small loss you sustained and the Capture you made.[89]

It is highly agreeable to me, that you are coming towards the Delaware with the Detachment you mention and am certain it will be in your power to afford much greater protection to the State by having a pretty considerable body of Men stationed at Mount Holly, than in any other part of it; As I conceive that a small party will be sufficient, under the present Circumstances, to defend it against Incursions from Staten Island.

Having found that Lord Cornwallis had returned from the Jersey with his Troops, and having advice that they intended a General Stroke at this Army (which I thought not improbable)

[87] Reed's reply (December 4) is a long 6½-page folio letter which lacks definiteness but favors stationing the left wing of the army in winter quarters at Wilmington, with a line of posts stretching as far as Downingstown. Reed's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[88] The text is from Reed's *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*.

[89] General Dickinson's foray on Staten Island was made with about 1,400 men early in the morning of November 27. The British received word of the intended surprise and retreated within their fortifications. Dickinson captured a few prisoners, killed a few of the enemy, and made good his retreat, with small loss, after staying eight hours on the island. His letter of November 28 is in the *Washington Papers*.

I was under the necessity of withdrawing the Continental Forces from your side the River. I am &ca.[90]

*CIRCULAR TO THE GENERAL OFFICERS

December 3, 1777.

Sir: I wish to recall your attention to the important matter recommended to your consideration sometime ago; namely, the advisability of a Winters Campaign, and practicability of an attempt upon Philadelphia with the aid of a considerable body of Militia, to be assembled at an appointed time and place, particular reasons urge me to request your Sentiments on this matter by the Morning, and I shall expect to receive them accordingly [in writing] by that time.[91] I am, etc.[92]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 3, 1777.

Dear Sir: The importance of the North River in the present contest and the necessity of defending It, are Subjects so well understood and so familiar to you, that it is needless for me to enlarge upon them. I therefore only mean to mention that no exertions can be too great to render it secure against any future attempts of the Enemy, and that the present opportunity should be improved to effect it, as far as it may be practicable. There cannot remain a doubt, but that the Enemy, as soon as the Spring opens, or the condition of the River after the Winter's frost will permit, will attempt to gain possession of it, to prosecute their

[90] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

[91] The opinions received in answer to this circular are dated December 3 and 4 and were practically unanimous against a winter campaign and an attack on Philadelphia. Two or three opinions were indecisive, and many of them branched off into a reconsideration of the question of winter quarters.

[92] The words in brackets are in an unknown hand. The circular sent to Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne is in the writing of John Fitzgerald and is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

favourite plans of ruin and of devastation. [unless the most vigorous efforts are adopted to prevent them] Under these Ideas, I must beg, my Dr. Sir, that you will turn your attention to this infinitely important Object, and by your advice and assistance promote and forward, as much as possible, such Works and Obstructions as shall be essential to render it perfectly secure. I wish to be favoured with your sentiments upon the subject, and that you will give them with freedom and without reserve, as to the present management, or of any difficulties that may have occurred to prevent you from interfering.

Genl. Gates was directed by Congress to turn his views to this matter, but from some proceedings that have just come to hand, he may be employed in the Board of War, if it shall be his choice. Should this be the case, nothing would be more pleasing to me, and I am convinced more advancive of the Interest of the States, than for you to take the chief direction and superintendance of this business; and I shall be happy, if the Affairs of Government will permit you. If they will, you may rest assured, no aid in my power to afford you shall be withheld, and there are no Impediments on the score of delicacy or superior command, that shall not be removed. I am etc.[93] [N.Y.H.S.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White Marsh, December 3, 1777.

Parole Portugal. Countersigns Falmouth, Derby.

At a General Court martial whereof Col. Grayson was president, held the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th of Nov. last, Major Howard[94] appeared before the court, charged with "1st. Wounding

[93] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The phrase in brackets is in the draft, which is also in Harrison's writing, but not in the letter sent.

[94] Maj. John Eager Howard, of the Fourth Maryland Regiment. He was lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Maryland Regiment in March, 1778; voted a medal by Congress for his conduct at Cowpens, S. C.; wounded at Eutaw Springs, S. C.; retired in April, 1783.

Capt. Lieut. Duffey[95] with his sword. 2nd. Abetting a riot in camp, and 3rd, In the front of his men (at his request assembled) attempting the life of Capt. Duffey with a loaded firelock, and fixed bayonet, being utterly subversive to good order and military discipline." The Court having considered the charges and the evidence are of opinion that Major Howard did not intentionally wound Capt. Duffey, and therefore acquit him of the first charge. Upon the second charge, they are of opinion, that however justifiable the motives were, by which Major Howard was at first actuated his conduct in the end was such as tended rather to promote than suppress a riot. They therefore sentence him to be reprimanded in General Orders. With respect to the 3rd. charge the Court are of opinion that it is not supported by evidence, and therefore do acquit him of the said charge.

Capt. Duffey appeared before the court, charged with "1st. Aiding and abetting a riot. 2nd. Assaulting and abusing Major Howard in the execution of his office." The Court having considered the first charge and the evidence, are of opinion that Capt. Duffey behaved with a warmth, which tended to produce a riot, and do sentence him to be reprimanded in General Orders. Upon the second charge they are of opinion that Major Howard, when Capt. Duffey struck him, had deviated from the line of his duty, and consequently was not in the execution of his office. They do therefore acquit Capt. Duffey of the second charge.

The foregoing opinions are approved by the Commander in Chief, and the sentences of reprimand appear to be pronounced with great justness, on an impropriety of conduct unbecoming the character of officers, whose duty it is to suppress all riot and tumult, and to set examples of moderation, decency and order.

[95] Capt.-Lieut. Patrick Duffey, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He was promoted captain in February, 1778; dismissed in October, 1781.

The officers and men of the company raised by the late Capt. Calderwood,[96] are to be annexed to Capt. Niven's[97] Company, in Col. Malcom's regiment.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 4, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The troops are constantly to have one day's provision's on hand, ready cooked. The officers are to pay particular attention to this, and consider it as a standing rule, that if they are suddenly called to arms the men may not be distressed.

Major General, The Marquis La Fayette is to take the command of the division lately commanded by General Stephen.

*ORDER OF BATTLE[98]

[December 4–5, 1777.]

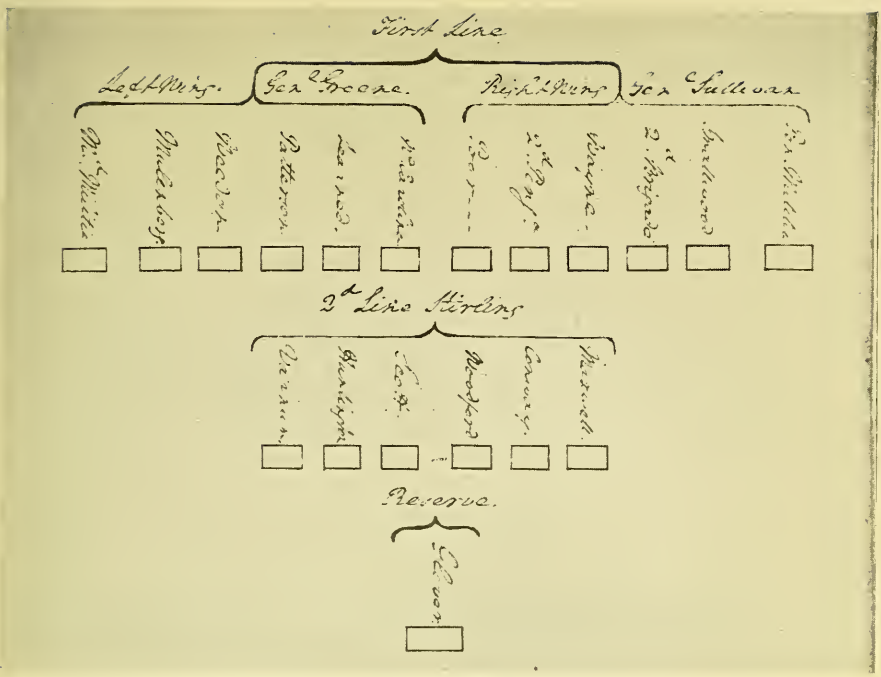
The order of Battle is to be agreeable to the above Plan. Morgan's rifle Corps is to form upon the left of the Maryland Militia and Webbs Regiment upon the right of the Pensa.Militia. These Corps, and the Militia (who are to act in detachment, and not in a solid or compact body) are to skirmish with, and harrass the Enemy as much as possible, taking especial care to gain their flanks and rear, if possible.

Blands and Baylors Regiments of light Dragoons are to be annex'd to the Right Wing and by small detachments to watch the movements of the Enemy, give Intelligence thereof, and

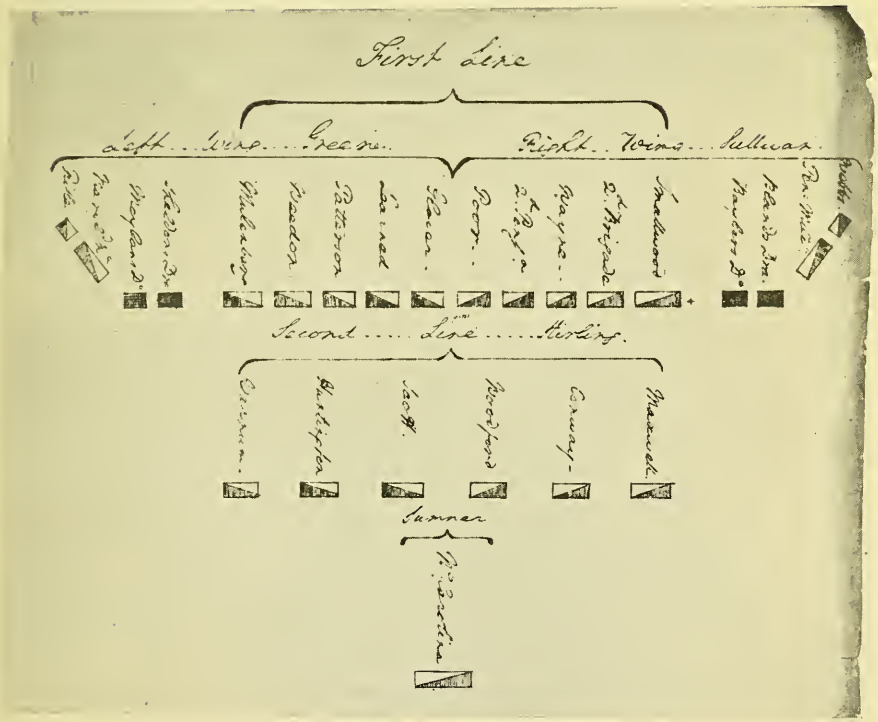
[96] Capt. James Calderwood, of an independent Pennsylvania company. He died in September, 1777, of wounds received at the Battle of Brandywine.

[97] Capt. Daniel Niven. He became captain of Sappers and Miners in April, 1779; captain of Engineers in March, 1780; served to close of the war.

[98] Washington drew two diagrams, to which the "Order of Battle" is the explanation. The first draft left the units unshaded. The second was more elaborate and shows some shifts of units from the first arrangement. Each plan had the explanation beneath it with one or two minor verbal variations. The text is from the first diagram, as being the more complete. (See illustration.)



FIRST DIAGRAM



SECOND DIAGRAM

LINE OF BATTLE AT WHITEMARSH, DECEMBER 4–5, 1777

see that the Enemy do not gain our Flanks without their knowledge.

Moylans and Sheldons Regiments are to be annexed to the left wing for the same purposes.

The horse are to draw up in the Intervals between the Continental Troops and Militia upon the right and left of each Wing.

The Parke of Artillery to be divided between the Wings in the rear of the Front line.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 6, 1777.

Parole Bennington. Countersigns Bedford, Bethlehem.

The Commissary General says he has put six day's provisions into the hands of the division and brigade Commissaries; if therefore the troops want provisions, it must be the fault of the latter; and this want will be attended with such pernicious consequences, that no excuse will be admitted in behalf of any Commissary who fails supplying his division or brigade, but a severe example will be made of him.

The troops are to ground their arms at their alarm posts; and as soon as possible, draw and cook their provisions for to day and to morrow, and immediately set about making the best provision they can of wood and huts for to night.

The officers commanding brigades, and corps, are again called upon, to bring back from the baggage, sent off yesterday, every man who has cloathing and shoes sufficient to enable him to do duty. And to prevent the strolling and loss of men, the commanding Officer of every corps is to see, that the rolls are called every two hours, and to know where every man is.

The Q. M. Genl. has stores to supply such brigades as want them. The Brigade Qr. Masters, and all to whom any are issued, are to be accountable, respectively, to those of whom they receive them.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 8, 1777.

Parole Lexington. Countersigns Bunker Hill, Stillwater.

The Commander in Chief returns his warmest thanks to Col. Morgan, and the officers and men of his intrepid corps, for their gallant behaviour in the several skirmishes with the enemy yesterday.[99] He hopes the most spirited conduct will distinguish the whole army, and gain them a just title to the praises of their country, and the glory due to brave men. They will remember, that they are engaged in the cause of humanity and of freedom, and that the period is probably at hand, when, by their noble and generous exertions, the Liberties and Independence of America shall be firmly established.

The General with pleasure has been informed that the Militia of Maryland under Colonel Gist,[1] shewed in yesterday's skirmishes a spirit becoming freemen, and which claims his sincere acknowledgements.

The enemy remaining quiet, the officers are to be particularly attentive that the men draw and cook their provisions, that they may be ever ready for service.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White-Marsh, December 9, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The tents are near the bridge, on the Skippack road, and so many are to be immediately sent for and pitched, as are

[99] Howe maneuvered in front of Washington's lines at Whitemarsh from December 5 to 8, and several skirmishes of greater or less intensity took place. On the 8th the British marched back to Philadelphia and went into quarters for the winter. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Dec. 10, 1777, *post.*)

[1] The militia acting under Col. Mordecai Gist, of the Third Maryland Regiment.

necessary for officers and men that have not huts, that will keep themselves and their arms dry. But the General earnestly recommends that no more tents be pitched than are absolutely necessary to shelter the troops. Neither officers nor men are to be absent from camp upon any pretence whatever.

A Captain and two Subalterns are wanted for the Corps of Invalids[2] commanded by Col Lewis Nicola. Officers disabled in the service, so as to be unfit for field duty, who are desirous of engaging in that corps, upon being properly recommended, will receive commissions therefor.

The General Court Martial, of which Colonel Ogden is president, is to sit at the usual place, to morrow morning, at nine o'clock. If any of the members are sick or absent, the Brigade Majors are to warn other officers of the same rank in their stead. An orderly serjeant from each division to attend the court.

An Orderly Serjeant from each brigade is to attend constantly at Head Quarters.

Brigade returns are to be made to the Adjutant General to morrow morning, at 9 o'clock, of all the sick in camp, and in private houses, about the country, and of the number of waggons necessary to transport them to the hospitals; but the surgeons are to return none for waggons, who are able to march, when their packs are carried for them, otherwise from the scarcity of waggons, some of the sick will be left in camp. Each brigadier, or officer commanding a brigade, will see that his surgeons duly comply with this order. When these returns are made, the surgeons will apply to Dr. McKnight, at Colonel Biddle's quarters for waggons. One careful officer from each brigade, is to be sent with the sick of the brigade to see them

[2]The Invalid Corps was established by a resolve of Congress of Apr. 22, 1777. Col. Lewis Nicola commanded the corps, which performed valuable service in furnishing guards during the remainder of the war.

properly taken care of on their way to the hospitals. Three days' provisions are to be sent with the sick. The Convalescents 'tis supposed will be sufficient to wait on the sick.

Each officer commanding [a] brigade is to make a return to morrow at orderly time of their killed, wounded and missing since General Howe's late march from Philadelphia, and if any during that time, lost to a sense of duty, have infamously deserted, their names are to be added to the same returns.

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, December 9, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favd. with yours of 8 OClock this Morning. I fancy your intelligence is mistaken as to the number of wounded; but they had a pretty warm brush with Morgans Corps, in which he thinks he killed and wounded a good many. Genl. Potter is gone over to the West side of Schuylkill again, be pleased to represent the matter of the provision to him and let him know it is my desire that Colo. Rankin should deliver it up. When any persons go in, with provision as a cover, the officers should be apprised of it, that they may have no interruption. Be pleased to communicate what further information you can obtain. I am, etc.[3] [N.Y.H.S.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., White Marsh, December 10, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that in the course of last Week from a variety of intelligence I had reason to expect that General Howe was preparing to give us a general Action. Accordingly on Thursday night he moved from the City with all his Force, except a very inconsiderable part left in his Lines

[3] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and Redoubts, and appeared the next Morning on Chesnut Hill, in front of, and about three miles distant from our Right wing. As soon as their possition was discovered, the Pennsylvania Militia were ordered from our Right to skirmish with their Light, advanced parties, and I am sorry to mention, that Brigadr. Genl. Irvine, who led them on, had the misfortune to be wounded and to be made prisoner. Nothing more occurred on that day. On Friday night the Enemy changed their Ground and moved to our left within a mile of our line, where they remained quiet and advantageously posted the whole of the next day. On Sunday they inclined still further to our left, and from every appearance, there was reason to apprehend they were determined on an Action. In this movement their advanced and flanking parties were warmly attacked by Colo. Morgan and his Corps, and also by the Maryland Militia under Colo. Gist. Their loss I cannot ascertain, but I am informed it was considerable, having regard to the number of the Corps who engaged them. About Sun set, after various marches and countermarches they halted, and I still supposed from their disposition and preceding Manœuvres, that they would attack us in the Night or early the next morning, but in this I was mistaken. On Monday afternoon, they began to move again and instead of advancing filed off from their Right, and the first certain account that I could obtain of their intentions was, that they were in full March towards Philadelphia by Two or Three Routes. I immediately detached light parties after them to fall upon their Rear, but they were not able to come up with them. The Enemy's loss, as I have observed, I cannot ascertain. One account from the City is, that Five hundred wounded had been sent in; Another is that Eighty two Waggons had gone in with Men in this situation. These I fear are both exaggerated and not to be depended upon. We lost Twenty Seven Men in Morgans Corps in killed

and wounded, besides Major Morris,[4] a Brave and gallant Officer, who is among the latter. Of the Maryland Militia, there were also Sixteen or Seventeen wounded. I have not received further Returns yet. I sincerely wish, that they had made an Attack; the Issue in all probability, from the disposition of our Troops and the strong situation of our Camp, would have been fortunate and happy. At the same time I must add that reason, prudence, and every principle of policy, forbad us quitting our post to attack them. Nothing but Success would have justified the measure, and this could not be expected from their position.

The constant attention and watching I was obliged to give the Enemy's movements, would not allow me to write before, and this I believe was the less material, as I have reason to think your Committee,[5] who were in Camp most of the time, and

[4] Maj. Joseph Morris, of the First New Jersey Regiment.

[5] On November 28 Congress unanimously resolved that a committee of three be appointed to repair to headquarters and "in a private confidential consultation with General Washington, to consider of the best and most practicable means for carrying on a winter's campaign with vigour and success, an object which Congres has much at heart." After conferring with the Commander in Chief the committee came to the "determination" that an assault upon Philadelphia was inadvisable; that no militia reenforcements of any consequence were to be relied upon; that the proper method of reenforcing the Army should be determined by Congress and that the Army should go into winter quarters at such place as would "afford supplies of provision, Wood Water and Forage, be secure from a surprise and best calculated for covering the Country from the Ravages of the Enemy, and prevent their collecting Recruits and supplies for their Army, as well as afford comfortable Quarters for the Officers and Soldiers."

A copy of this determination was inclosed in a letter (December 10) from the committee to Washington and discloses that the committee conferred with the Commander in Chief and a council of the general officers before coming to the foregoing determination. In that letter the committee noted that "Among the many reasons offered against a Winters Campaign we were sorry to observe one of the most prevalent was a general discontent in the Army and especially among the Officers. These discontents are ascribed to various causes and we doubt not many of them are well founded and deserve particular attention, and in the course of the present Winter, will be taken into consideration by Congress, and we hope effectually remedied. That a reform may take place in the army, and proper discipline be introduced, we wish to see the Military placed on such a footing as may make a Commisison a desirable object to the Officer, and his Rank preserved from degradation and contempt; for these purposes we intend to recommend to Congress: That an half pay establishment be formed and adopted in the American Service. That a pensionary establishment take place in favour of Officers' Widows. That a New regulation of Rank, confining it as far as possible to the line of the Army be adopted. That an equitable mode of paying for *back* rations be ordered. Should these several regulations be approved

who are now here, transmitted an Account of such Occurrences, as they deemed important in any degree. The first cause too, Sir, and my Engagements with the Committee previous to the coming out of the Enemy, will, I trust, sufficiently apologize for my not acknowledging before, the honor of your favors of the 30th Ulto. and 1st Inst. which came to hand in due order and time. I am &ca.[6]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 10, 1777.

Sir: I was honored with yours of the 22d Ulto. on Wednesday last; but the Situation, which the Army has since been in, has prevented me from answering it before. Genl Howe had been for some time preparing for a move, which every account from the City, informed me was intended against this Army. On thursday Evening he advanced as far as Chesnut Hill and in the Morning he appeared upon the Heights about three Miles in our front. There was a small Skirmish between the Enemy's advanced Corps and the Pennsylvania Militia, in which Brigr. General Irvine of that State was unfortunately wounded, thrown from his Horse and taken Prisoner. Having reconnoitred our Situation all that day, and I suppose not liking the appearance of our right Wing, they moved on Friday night about three miles to our left. They lay still on saturday, and on sunday about

and established by Congress (and we have reason to suppose they will) We trust the prevailing discontents will subside and a Spirit of emulation take place among the Gentlemen of the Army to promote the public service and introduce that order and discipline amongst the Troops so essential to the Military Character. As a further inducement the Committe have it also in Contemplation to propose in Congress that the Officers be permitted to dispose of their Commissions under such regulations as may render the measure eligible." A further determination of the committee was that the Army needed to be reenforced "before the intended Enterprise" against Philadelphia "can be carried into execution."

The committee's letter with a copy of its "determination" is in the *Washington Papers*.

[6] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

noon intelligence was brought that they were in full March towards our Camp. As soon as they began to move Colo. Morgan with the light Corps under his Command and the Maryland Militia attacked their right flank, and I am informed did them a good deal of damage, considering the Number of Men that engaged. About sunset they halted again, their left wing being about one Mile from our line. From this Manœuvre I expected an Attack in the Night, or by day break and made disposition accordingly. On Monday Afternoon they began to move, but instead of advancing, they filed off from their right, and the first Certain Account, that I could obtain of their intentions was that they were in full March towards Philadelphia; I immediately dispatched light parties after them, but such was the rapidity of their movement, that they could not even come up with their rear.

I am pleased to hear of the Arrival of Cloathing in Virginia,[7] which tho' not very great will be very acceptable, as far as it will go. I beg that whatever you can spare may be immediately sent forward to the Head Quarters of the Army, where ever that may be, and I have no doubt but we can get the Cloaths more readily made up by the Taylors of the Army, than you can in the Country. I observe that there is a small Supply of Cloth, Suitable for the Officers. I should be extremely glad if that could be sent up for the use of those who remain in the Field and not delivered out to those, who under various pretences will find means to winter at home. I hope the Gentlemen, who are appointed in your State to make a Collection of Cloathing for your Troops will exert themselves; for altho' large quantities are ordered from Europe, the arrival is so

[7] In one of Beaumarchais's ships at Portsmouth, Va. Thomas Nelson, jr., in a letter (November 21) informed Washington of this arrival. Nelson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

precarious, that we ought by no means to put a dependence upon a Supply thro' that Channel.

As I have not yet seen the Director General of the Hospitals since the Receipt of your Letter, I cannot say, what may be his wants in the medicinal way, but I dare to say a Supply of any of the Capital Articles will be very acceptable to him. I expect him here in a day or two, when you shall, hear further from him, or me upon the Subject. I have the honor etc.[8]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 21st. Ulto. on Wednesday last; but such has been the Situation of the two Armies since, that I have not had an opportunity of answering it before this time.

Genl. Howe had been for several days making great preparations for a move, which they did not scruple to say was intended against this Army, threatning to drive us beyond the mountains. On Thursday Evening last they marched out and took post in the morning upon Chesnut Hill, three miles in our Front. In the Evening they shifted their Ground to our left, from which I thought they meant an attack upon that quarter. But after manœvering about us for some days, they suddenly decamped on Monday afternoon and marched back to Philada., in the most hasty manner. I detached light parties after them, but they were not able to come up with them.

I hope the exertions of our Friends in your House of assembly will be attended with the desired effect. Unless we can fill our Regiments against the next Campaign, I very much fear

[8] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

that all our past labours will have been in vain, for unless a War with France should divert the attention of Great Britain, I am convinced she will strain every nerve to make up for the disappointments and losses of this Campaign. And altho, from many of our late accounts, it should seem as if a War was inevitable, we ought not to count upon that score, but make our preparations as if we were to depend solely upon our own Bottoms.

The question you ask respecting the strength of our Army is of so important a nature, that altho I have the fullest confidence in you, I dare not trust the particulars to paper for fear of accidents. Thus much I can assure you, that our numbers have been always much exaggerated and that the Enemy have constantly exceeded our Continental Force. The Battalions of the other States are in point of deficiency much upon a footing with yours and you may judge from thence, how much we stand in need of Recruits.

The Officers who commanded at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin were Colo. Green of Rhode Island and Lt. Colo. Smith of Maryland. They did all that brave men could do, but the posts at length fell, being over powered by dint of superior force. They however confess that the long and unexpected opposition which they received broke in upon their plans for the remainder of the Campaign. I am &ca.[9]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White Marsh, December 10, 1777.

Parole Worcester. Countersigns Rutland, Salisbury.

The army to march at four o'clock in the morning from the right.[10] A Subaltern from each regiment and a Captain from each brigade, under the command of a Field Officer from the

[9] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[10] By order of Washington the general officers drew up a plan of the order of march from Whitemarsh across the Schuylkill River, and this plan, signed by Maj. Gen. John Sullivan for the officers, is filed in the *Washington Papers* under date of December 10.

line, are to assemble at General Knox's quarters in the morning and remain 'till the Army moves off the ground, and then see that all stragglers in the camp, and its environs, are collected and marched after it. They are also to see that no baggage, entrenching tools or other articles are left, or that they are secured under proper guards taken from the Pennsylvania Militia, by application to the commanding officer thereof.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 11, 1777.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving yours of the 1st Instant some days since; but the Situation, which the Army has been in, must apologize for my not Answering it sooner. Genl. Howe, after making great preparations, and threatning to drive us beyond the Mountains, came out with his whole force last thursday Evening, and, after manœuvering round us till the Monday following, decamped very hastily, and marched back to Philadelphia.

In my opinion, trying the Officers, taken by General Dickinson on Staten Island, for High Treason, may prove a dangerous expedient. It is true they left the state after such an offence was declared treason; but, as they had not taken the Oaths, nor had entered into our Service, it will be said they had a right to choose their side. Again, by the same rule that we try them, may not the Enemy try any natural born subject of Great Britain, taken in Arms in our Service. We have a great number of them; and I, therefore, think we had better submit to the Necessity of treating a few individuals, who may really deserve a severer fate, as Prisoners of War, than run the Risque of giving an opening for retaliation upon the Europeans in our Service.[11]

[11] The names of these officers were not given in Livingston's letter (December 1) to Washington. Livingston mentioned that Putnam was to have made an attack on New York at the same time that Dickinson moved against Staten Island, "but I cannot learn that the Old Gentleman has bore any part in the Concert. I fear Sir there are Newcombs in your Army as well as in our Militia." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

I am pleased to hear that your Assembly are in so good a disposition to regulate the price of Necessaries for the Army. I could wish that they would not forget to regulate the prices of Country produce, which the Commissaries tell me has risen to so exorbitant a rate, that there is no purchasing a single Article from the Farmers. I am &ca.[12]

To DOCTOR WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, December 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: In answer to your favour of to day, I cannot think Princeton, under the present situation of affairs, by any means a proper place for the sick. Should they remain there they would be liable to be taken. At the same time, I do not wish you to precipitate their removal in such a manner as to endanger them. In respect to the Hospitals at Easton and Bethlehem, I also am of opinion that they should be removed: But these, as their situation is not so dangerous, may be deferred till the last. We must keep the Sick always in the Rear of the Army, or they will be subject to captivity. As to Colo. Nichola and his Corps I shall have no objection to their being at the Hospitals, if there is no Resolution of Congress assigning them to other duty, Colo. Nichola will know if this is the case. I am etc.[13]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Sweede's Ford, December 12, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

A careful subaltern from each brigade is to repair this day to the last encampment of the army, to collect and take care of the sick and conduct them to Reading. These officers are to apply to the Regimental Surgeons for information where to find the

[12] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[13] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

sick of their brigades. Every motive of duty and humanity requires the most exact attention to this order. Drs. Draper and Campbell, at Mr. West's will give assistance to the subalterns.

The Commander in Chief, with great pleasure, expresses his approbation, of the behaviour of the Pennsylvania Militia yesterday, under Genl. Potter, in the vigorous opposition they made to a body of the enemy on the other side Schuylkill.

Daniel Clymer Esqr. is appointed Deputy Commissary of prisoners, to act in the absence of the Commissary General of prisoners.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, at the Gulph,[14] December 13, 1777.

Parole Carlisle. Countersigns Potsgrove, White Marsh.

The officers are without delay to examine the arms and accoutrements of their men, and see that they are put in good order.

Provisions are to be drawn, and cooked for to morrow and next day. A gill of Whiskey is to be issued immediately to each officer, soldier, and waggoner.

The weather being likely to be fair, the tents are not to be pitched. But the axes in the waggons are to be sent for, without delay, that the men may make fires and hut themselves for the ensuing night in the most comfortable manner.

The army is to be ready to march precisely at four o'clock to morrow morning.

An officer from each regiment is to be sent forthwith to the encampment on the other side Schuylkill, to search that and the houses for all stragglers, and bring them up to their corps. All the waggons not yet over are also to be sent for and got over as soon as possible.

[14] The Gulph was the place where Gulph (or Gulf) Creek cuts through Gulph Hill and empties into the Schuylkill River at West Conshohocken, Pa. Matsons Ford crosses the Schuylkill at this point.

Mr. Archibald Read is appointed paymaster to the 8th. Pennsylvania regiment, and is to be respected as such.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Gulf Creek, December 14, 1777.

Sir: Your several favors of the 28th November and 4th and 5th instants came duly to hand; but the constant motion which the Army has been in, since the Receipt of them, has prevented me from answering them before this time.

Nothing but the absolute necessity which the Army lay under for want of Cloathing induced me to send out Officers to make Collections; the Cloathier General represented it to me as impossible for him to procure what Articles were in the Hands of private Persons and I therefore, by Virtue of the Powers with which I was vested by Congress, granted Warrants to different Officers to impress what the holders would not willingly part with; but I, at the same time, directed them to give orders upon the Cloathier General, to be paid for at a Reasonable rate. Since the State of Pennsylvania have undertaken to collect what things are proper for the Army by Commissioners of their own. I have recalled all the Officers sent out by me.

I shall direct Genl. Armstrong who remains upon the East side of Schuylkill, to endeavour to find out what Leather is tanned in and about Germantown and to have it removed. I am informed that it will be needless to remove what is half tanned, for if it freezes it will be spoiled.

I have directed the Muster Master Genl. to take the first opportunity of mustering Colo Nicola's Corps of Invalids, which he promises to do. Doctor Shippin has requested me, to allot them to guard the Hospitals, and if there is no other duty assigned to them I dont know how they can be better employed.

Colo Richardson has gone to Maryland for the benefit of his health and I am constrained to mention the impossibility of

sparing the Battalion at present, most of the Men of the Nine eldest Virginia Regiments whose times would have expired in February have been permitted to go home upon Furlough, to induce them to reinlist for the War, upon the common Terms and a considerable Number of the Troops of Connecticut and Massachusetts, who were drafted for eight Months will leave us the last of this Month. These will weaken us more than is proper considering the Resolution of taking a Position for the Winter near the Enemy for the more effectual covering the Country.

I have ordered a return to be made of the exact Number of the men in the Eastern Regiments whose times will expire with this year. They were not inlisted upon the Continental Bounty, but drafted by different Townships to make up their Quota of Continental Troops.

I will send up a proper Officer to train and take the Command of the Recruits at York Town.

The Judge Advocate[15] has gone to visit his family and I send you the Copies of a Number of proceedings of Courts Martial which he left to be forwarded. I cannot say whether all that you call for are among them, but I know that of Genl. Stephens's is. I had ordered him to transmit Copies of all proceedings to the Board of War and I imagine he has done it, in all instances prior to the present.

Lt Colo. Nevil is not out with the present Classes of Pennsylvania Militia neither do I know where he is to be found. I do not know any person qualified for the Business for which he was wanted.

I am very Sensible, that vast quantities of public Arms and stores are carried off by the Militia. But such an Officer as you recommend would not remedy it in the least. The Mischief is not done by those who are regularly discharged, but by those who Desert before the expiration of their time and carry away

[15] Lieut. Col. William Tudor.

their Arms &c. privately, nor except an Inspector General could prevent desertion, he would do nothing. I think I can recommend a much more effectual Method and that is, for the States to pass laws, imposing a certain penalty upon any Man who shall have any Arms, Accoutrements or other Stores branded with the Continental Brand found in his House. I am &ca.[16]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, December 14, 1777.

Sir: The difficulty of supplying the Troops of General Burgoyne's Army with Wood and Provisions from the Country in the Neighbourhood of Boston, induces me to request, that you will grant passports for Vessels to be employed to bring them from places on the Coast. I cannot ascertain the number of Vessels that may be necessary for this Business, or the names of the Persons who may be intrusted with the command of them; the passports therefore should be blank. In such case, they can be occasionally filled up; and to prevent any doubts of their being improperly used, they may be countersigned by General Burgoyne. This I shall direct. The Letters from General Burgoyne which accompany this, I transmit you by his request. I am etc.[17]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at the Gulph, December 14, 1777.

Parole Raritan. Countersigns Schuylkill, Delaware.

The regiments of horse are to draw provisions of any issuing Commissary, lying most convenient to them, upon proper returns therefor.

[16] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[17] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Such of the baggage as is not absolutely necessary for the troops, and all the Commissarys and others stores, are to remain on this side of the gulph.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters near the Gulph, December 14, 1777.

Sir: On Thursday Evening I had the Honor to receive your Favor of the 8th Inst. From the several Letters which have lately passed between Genl. Howe and myself, I am fully convinced, that any propositions by me, to release the Baron St. Ouary[18] from captivity, either by an exchange or on parole, would be unavailing. In his Letter of the he [Sir William Howe] has explicitly stated his sentiments, and has declared himself, to be utterly against a partial Exchange. The situation of the Baron, thro' the interest and acquaintance of the Marquis Fayette with [a Mr. Kirkpatrick] an Officer in the Guards, is much more comfortable than that of any of our Officers, who are Prisoners, he being on Parole in the City, whilst they are All confined in the State House. I do not know that it is the practice in Europe, not to consider Volunteers as Prisoners. I am inclined to believe, that it is not, and that they are generally held as such, unless the contrary is particularly stipulated by Cartel. However this may be, they have been held in the present contest on both sides on the footing of other prisoners and exchanged as such. Besides this, I fear, that a proposition calculated for the peculiar benefit of the Baron, would be illy received by our Unhappy Officers, who have been much longer in confinement, whose sufferings are far greater than his, and who claim a right to exchange in due course.

[18] On December 3 Congress resolved that Washington request the release of Baron St. Ouary, "a gallant gentleman from France, engaged as a volunteer in the service of the United States, . . . lately, by the fortune of war, made prisoner by the British."

The Inquiries directed in the Resolutions contained in your Letter of the 30th Ulto., respecting the loss of the Forts in the Highlands and of Fort Mifflin, I shall order to be made, as soon as circumstances will admit.[19] These However it is probable will not be effected in a short time, from the Situation of our Affairs and inevitable necessity.

On Thursday morning we marched from our Old Encampment and intended to pass the Schuylkill at Madisons Ford,[20] where a Bridge had been laid across the River. When the first Division and a part of the Second had passed, they found a body of the Enemy, consisting, from the best accounts we have been able to obtain, of Four Thousand Men, under Lord Cornwallis possessing themselves of the Heights on both sides of the Road leading from the River and the defile called the Gulph, which I presume, are well known to some part of your Honble. Body. This unexpected Event obliged such of our Troops, as had crossed to repass and prevented our getting over till the succeeding night. This Manœuvre on the part of the Enemy, was not in consequence of any information they had of our movement, but was designed to secure the pass whilst they were foraging in the Neighbouring Country; they were met in their advance, by General Potter with part of the Pennsylvania Militia, who behaved with bravery and gave them every possible opposition, till they were obliged to retreat from their superior numbers. Had we been an Hour sooner, or had had the least information of the measure, I am persuaded we should have

[19] The draft at this point has the following, which is lined out: "At the same time, I wish Congress had taken these matters under their direction. Whether the loss of the former could have been prevented I can not determine, but I am persuaded it will be found on the strictest inquiry that every aid was given to support the latter that the situation of the army would authorize and that the Officers and Garrison employed in its defence, did all that Men could do to maintain it. They sustained a severe and disagreeable Siege; they fought, they fell and the post was not quitted till it was a mass of Ruins."

[20] Matsons Ford, at the Gulph.

given his Lordship a fortunate stroke or obliged him to have returned, without effecting his purpose, or drawn out all Genl Howe's force to have supported him. Our first intelligence was that it was all out. He collected a good deal of Forage and returned to the City, the Night we passed the River. No discrimination marked his proceedings. All property, whether Friends or Foes that came in their way was seized and carried off.[21]

Enclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Genl. Burgoyne, by which you will perceive, he requests leave to embark his Troops at Rhode Island or at some place in the sound, and in case this cannot be granted, that he may be allowed, with his Suite to go there and return from thence to England. His first proposition, as I have observed upon a former occasion is certainly inadmissible and for reasons obvious to himself. As to the Second

[21] Ford quotes a letter from John Laurens to his father (December 23) giving an account of these movements: "When we marched from Whitemarsh Camp and were in the act of crossing the Schuylkill, we received intelligence that the enemy were advancing on this side of the river . . . and were driving Potter's militia before them. Two regiments of this corps, however, are said to have conducted themselves extremely well, and to have given the enemy no small annoyance as they advanced. General Sullivan was Master General of the day . . . being uncertain as to the number of the enemy, and dreading their advance in force, when part of the army should be on one side of the river and part on the other, he ordered those troops to recross and our bridge to be rendered impassable. Notice of this was sent to the Commander in chief, and when he arrived, parties of the enemy were seen on the commanding heights on this side of the river. . . . Some pronounced hastily that the enemy had received intelligence of our march . . . and that they were prepared to oppose our passage. Genl. Washington, who never since I have been in his family, has passed a false judgment on such points, gave it as his opinion that the party in view were foragers; that the meeting was accidental, but, however, the enemy might avail themselves of this unexpected discovery, and might draw as much advantage from it as if the rencounter had been premeditated. The intelligence was received that the enemy were retiring in great haste, but it did not appear satisfactory, and the army was ordered to march to Swedes Ford, three or four miles higher up the river and encamp with the right to the Schuylkill. The next morning the want of provisions—I could weep tears of blood when I say it—the want of provisions rendered it impossible to march. We did not march till the evening of that day. Our ancient bridge, an infamous construction, which in many parts obliged the men to march by Indian file, was restored, and a bridge of waggons made over the Swedes Ford, but fence-rails from necessity being substituted to plank, and furnishing a very unstable footing. This last served to cross a trifling number of troops. As the event turned out, Genl. Sullivan's retrograde movement was unspeakably unlucky. If we had persevered in crossing in the first instance, or if we had even crossed in the evening of the first day, the flower of the British army must have fallen a sacrifice to superior numbers."

which respects the departure of himself and Suite, Congress will be pleased to determine upon it and favor me with their Sentiments by the first Opportunity, that I may know what answer to give him.[22] I learn from Mr. Griffin, who has just come from Boston, that this Gentlemen either holds, or professes to hold very different Ideas of our power, than what he formerly entertained; That, without reserve he has said it would be next to impossible for Britain to succeed in her views, and that he should with freedom declare his Sentiments accordingly on his Arrival in England, and seemed to think the recognition of our Independence by the King and Parliament an Eligible measure, under a Treaty of Commerce upon a large and extensive Scale. How far these professions are founded in Sincerity, it is not easy to determine; But if they are what a mighty change. While I am on the subject of Mr. Burgoyne and his Army, I would submit it to Congress, whether it will not be right and reasonable that all Expences, incurred on their Account for Provisions &c. should be paid and satisfied, previous to their embarkation and departure. I mean, by an Actual deposit of the Money. Unless this is done, there will be little reason to suppose, that it will ever be paid. They have failed, that is the Nation, in other instances, as I have been told, after liquidating their Accounts and giving the fullest Certificates and we cannot expect that they will keep better faith with us, than with Others. The payment too, I should apprehend, ought to be in Coin, as it will enable us to administer some relief to our unfortunate Officers and Men who are in Captivity.[23]

[22] On December 17 Congress resolved that General Washington be directed to inform General Burgoyne that Congress would not receive nor consider any proposition for indulgence or altering the terms of the convention of Saratoga, unless immediately directed to their own body. By a resolve of December 1 Congress had already decided to reject any proposal for embarking the convention troops from any place other than that stipulated by the terms of surrender at Saratoga.

[23] The Saratoga convention provided that the British troops on their march to Boston were to be supplied with provisions at the same rate of rations as the troops of Gates's army. Gates was paying paper money for his supplies, which had depreciated at this time about two-thirds of its face value. Washington's suggestion to

December 15.

Your Favor of the 11th Current,[24] with its Inclosure came to hand Yesterday. Congress seem to have taken for granted a Fact, that is really not so. All the Forage for the Army has been constantly drawn from Bucks and Philadelphia Counties and those parts most contiguous to the City, insomuch that it was nearly exhausted and intirely so in the Country below our Camp. From these too, were obtained all the Supplies of flour that circumstances would admit of. The Millers, in most instances, were unwilling to grind, either from their disaffection or from motives of fear. This made the supplies less than they otherwise might have been, and the Quantity which was drawn from thence, was little besides what the Guards, placed at the Mills, compelled them to manufacture. As to Stock, I do not know that much was had from thence, nor do I know that any considerable supply could have been had. I confess, I have felt myself greatly embarrassed with respect to a vigorous exercise of Military power. An Ill placed humanity perhaps and a reluctance to give distress may have restrained me too far. But these were not all. I have been well aware of the prevalent jealousy of military power, and that this has been considered as an

exact payment in coin for what the British consumed was hard driving; but in view of the generous counterfeiting of Continental paper money, indulged in by the British, which counterfeiting had been a real factor in depreciating the Continental money, it is a nice question to decide. Congress was already considering the question, and on December 19 ordered that the accounts of all provisions and other necessaries which already have been, or which hereafter may be supplied by the public to prisoners in the power of these States, shall be discharged by either receiving from the British commissary of prisoners, or any of his agents, provisions or other necessaries, equal in quality and kind to what have been supplied, or the amount thereof in gold and silver, at the rate of 4*s.* 6*d.* for every dollar of the currency of these States, and that all these accounts be liquidated and discharged, previous to the release of any prisoners to whom provisions or other necessaries shall have been supplied. Burgoyne protested and claimed the convention was infringed by such a demand. He appealed to Howe, and Howe then agreed to an exchange of prisoners, but later difficulties developed.

[24] This letter was one of December 12, a copy of which is entered in the "President's Letter Book" in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.* The resolve alluded to is that (December 10) directing the removal of all stock and provisions beyond the reach of the enemy.

Evil much to be apprehended even by the best and most sensible among us. Under this Idea, I have been cautious and wished to avoid as much as possible any Act that might improve it. However Congress may be assured, that no exertions of mine as far as circumstances will admit shall be wanting to provide our own Troops with Supplies on the one hand, and to prevent the Enemy from them on the other. At the same time they must be apprized, that many Obstacles have arisen to render the former more precarious and difficult than they usually were from a change in the Commissary's department at a very critical and interesting period. I should be happy, if the Civil Authority in the Several States thro' the recommendations of Congress, or their own mere will, seeing the necessity of supporting the Army, would always adopt the most spirited measures, suited to the end. The people at large are governed much by Custom. To Acts of Legislation or Civil Authority they have been ever taught to yield a willing obedience without reasoning about their propriety. On those of Military power, whether immediate or derived originally from another Source, they have ever looked with a jealous and suspicious Eye.

I am extremely sorry for your Indisposition and wishing you the earliest relief from your painful disorder,[25] I have the honor etc.[26]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Gulf Mill, December 15, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 2d Instt. I am much obliged for the attention you have paid to my requests thro'

[25] Laurens resigned as President of Congress on Dec. 12, 1777, on the ground of ill health, but Congress did not accept the resignation, and he continued as President until Dec. 9, 1778.

[26] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Genl. Putnam, and I shall ever acknowledge the readiness with which you have Always afforded any assistance from your State, when demanded immediately by myself. I was never consulted in the least upon the Rhode Island expedition, and I cannot therefore pretend to say who were or who were not to blame; but it undoubtedly cost the Public, an enormous sum to little or no purpose.

I observe by the Copy of your letter to Congress, that your State had fallen upon means to supply your troops with Cloathing; I must earnestly beg that it may be sent on to Camp as fast as it is collected. To cover the Country more effectually we shall be obliged to lay in a Manner in the Field the whole Winter, and except the Men are warmly clad they must suffer much.

Among the troops of your State there are 363 drafts whose time of Service will expire with this Month. This deduction, with the former deficiency of the Regiments, will reduce them exceedingly low and as I have represented this Matter to Congress very fully I hope they have before this time urged to the States the necessity which there is of filling their Regiments this Winter. But lest they should not have done it, I beg leave to urge the matter to your immediate consideration. Recruits for the War ought by all means, to be obtained if possible; but if that cannot be done, drafts for one year at least should be called out without delay; and I hope that as many as are now upon the point of going home, will be immediately reinstated. We must expect to loose a considerable number of Men by sickness and otherways, in the course of the Winter and if we cannot take the field in the Spring with a superior or at least an equal force with the Enemy, we shall have laboured thro' the preceeding Campaigns to little purpose. I have the honor etc.[27]

[27] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE OFFICERS ORDERED TO REMOVE PROVISIONS FROM THE COUNTRY NEAR THE ENEMY

[Headquarters, December 15?, 1777.]

In Congress, December 10, 1777.

Resolved. That General Washington should for the future, endeavour as much as possible to subsist his Army from such parts of the Country as are in its vicinity and especially from such quarters, as he shall deem most likely to be subjected to the power or depredations of the Enemy, and that he issue orders for such purpose to the Commissaries and Quarter Masters belonging to the Army.

That General Washington be directed to order every kind of Stock and provisions in the Country above mentioned, which may be beneficial to the Army, or serviceable to the Enemy, to be taken from all persons without distinction, leaving such quantities only as he shall judge necessary for the maintenance of their families: The Stock and provisions so taken to be removed to places of security, under the care of proper persons to be appointed.

Extract from the proceedings of Congress.

Sir: You will perceive by the foregoing Extracts, that it is the direction of Congress, that the Army should be subsisted, as far as possible, on provisions to be drawn from such parts of the Country, as are within its vicinity and most exposed to the ravages and incursions of the Enemy. Also, that all stock and provisions which may be liable to fall into the Enemy's hands and which would be serviceable to them, except such a part as shall be absolutely necessary for the maintenance and support of the families to which they may belong, should be removed to places of security under the care of proper persons.

You are therefore, forthwith and upon all future occasions, to comply with their views, as far as it may be in your power, and in a particular manner, you are to exert yourself to draw from the Counties of Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester every

Species of provision you possibly can. You will also extend your care to such parts of Jersey, as are near the City of Philadelphia, and in like manner to the Counties in the Delaware State, and to obtain from these several places all the Supplies you can. Besides drawing provisions, you are to remove from such parts of all the before mentioned Counties as may be subject to the depredations of the Enemy, the Stock and Grain of every kind which would be Serviceable to them, to places of security under the restriction and exception above mentioned; keeping a just and exact account of the number, quantity, quality and value, and of the persons to whom they belonged, in order that the owners may be paid a reasonable and equitable compensation for the same. These duties are important and interesting, and it is expected will have your pointed attention, as a regular discharge of them will not only contribute to the more easy support of our own Troops, aid our supplies from the more interior parts of the Country, but also will distress the Enemy, and prevent that injurious and pernicious intercourse too prevalent between them and a number of disaffected Inhabitants. I am &ca.[28]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, at the Gulph, December 15, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

A field officer from each brigade, is to inspect immediately, all the men of his brigade, now with the baggage, and take from thence, to their brigades, every man who is able to do duty in the line. Major Snead[29] is (till further orders) to take charge

[28] The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress. The resolve of December 10 was forwarded in a letter from the President of Congress on December 12 and acknowledged by Washington on December 15. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Dec. 14, 1777, *ante*.) Presumably Washington wrote the above letter to the officers at once.

[29] Maj. Thomas Snead, of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment. He resigned in March, 1778.

of the men remaining after this for the baggage guard, and report any who are left with the baggage contrary to this order.

AFTER ORDERS

The baggage of the army is to move at seven, and the whole army at ten o'clock, to morrow morning, in such routes and order, as shall be previously directed.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, at the Gulph, December 16, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The tents are to be carried to the encampment of the troops, and pitched immediately.

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, December 16, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your Messenger went away before I got home yesterday, or I should have answered your letter. Altho' I would not grant permission to all those who want to go into Philada. to get paid for what they were plundered of, you may allow it to those on whom you can depend and from who you expect any intelligence in return. I have directed that all passes granted by you shall be sufficient for the purposes you want them.

We have not at present much more paper than the sheet I write upon and not a whole stick of Wax. When I get a supply you shall have part.

I have given an order upon Colo. Biddle for one hundred dollars, but I am not certain that he has any Money. If he has Mr. Fawkes will carry it to you. The Paymaster Genl. has not arrived in Camp since our late move. I am, etc.

P. S. The depositions which you mention may be of use if taken.[30]

[30] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To LIEUTENANT GENERAL JOHN BURGOYNE

Head Quarters, December 17, 1777.

Sir: I was, a few days ago, honored with yours of the 25th. November. The packets for Sir William Howe and the letters for Gentlemen in his Army, were immediately forwarded to Philadelphia.

As I did not conceive myself at Liberty to Answer either of your requests, without first consulting Congress, I have transmitted a Copy of your Letter to them and have desired their determination, as speedily as possible; As soon as I know the result, I shall take the earliest Opportunity of acquainting you with it. I have the Honor etc.

Genl. Washington presents his Comps. to Major Genl. Philips and begs leave to inform him that his letters were forwarded to Phila. immediately upon the receipt of them.[31]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Gulph Mill, December 17, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 23d. and 27th.[32] of November. If the Recruits intended for Lee's and Jackson's Regiments have not had the small pox, and are not marched when this reaches you, I desire they may be inoculated before they join the Army. After the repeated directions, which I had given to have All the Recruits who had not had that disorder innoculated the moment they were inlisted, I was not less surprised than mortified to find the fine detachment of Men that came forward under Lt. Colo. Smith rendered intirely useless for this Campaign by my Orders not being attended to. By the time they reached the Camp the small pox broke out upon them, which obliged me to send the whole into the Hospital, as those who were well were not more than sufficient to nurse the sick.

[31] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[32] The draft has "23d, 26th and 27th."

I immediately forwarded the packets and Letters from Genl. Burgoyne and his Officers to Genl. Howe. As to Genl. Burgoyne's request to me, to permit him to depart before his Army, I did not think myself authorized to grant it, before I consulted Congress, to whom I transmitted a Copy of his Letter. I shall give him an Answer as soon as I know their determination. I think it would have been highly improper to have allowed him the liberty of visiting your Seaport Towns. A man of his sagacity and penetration would make many observations upon situations &ca. that might prove detrimental to us in future.

You have felt but a small share of the inconveniences arising from the ill regulations in the Commissary's department. I hope it will get into some better order before long, but in the mean time you acted properly in appointing persons to excute the Office yourself.[33]

Your favor of the 4th. Instant came to Hand since beginning this Letter. I am pleased to hear of the arrival of the Ship with Artillery &ca. from France, as it is a fresh proof of the friendly disposition of that Court towards us.

Genl. Patterson informs me that there are Two Hundred and forty of the Troops of Massachusetts who were drafted for Eight Months, and whose times will expire the last of this Month. He also informs me that care will be taken by the Legislature to replace them, but lest they may be forgetful of it, I beg you will remind them not only of the necessity of reinlisting or supplying the place of the above number, but of filling their Regiments against the next Campaign. Upon this last head, I have written fully to Congress, and I make no doubt they have or will urge the matter to the Council and Assembly of your State.

[33]At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "As there will undoubtedly be a great many points to adjust before the Army under Genl. Burgoyne will be permitted to embark I would recommend it to you to not to suffer them to depart before you have the full and final order of Congress for that purpose."

Whenever you have occasion for directions in any matters respecting General Burgoyne and his Troops, it will be best for you to write fully to Congress upon the subject, as they alone must determine in all cases which refer to them. I am etc.[34]

[MS. H. S.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at the Gulph, December 17, 1777.

Parole Warwick. Countersigns Woodbridge, Winchester.

The Commander in Chief with the highest satisfaction expresses his thanks to the officers and soldiers for the fortitude and patience with which they have sustained the fatigues of the Campaign. Altho' in some instances we unfortunately failed, yet upon the whole Heaven hath smiled on our Arms and crowned them with signal success; and we may upon the best grounds conclude, that by a spirited continuance of the measures necessary for our defence we shall finally obtain the end of our Warfare, Independence, Liberty and Peace. These are blessings worth contending for at every hazard. But we hazard nothing. The power of America alone, duly exerted, would have nothing to dread from the force of Britain. Yet we stand not wholly upon our ground. France yields us every aid we ask, and there are reasons to believe the period is not very distant, when she will take a more active part, by declaring war against the British Crown. Every motive therefore, irresistably urges us, nay commands us, to a firm and manly perseverance in our opposition to our cruel oppressors, to slight difficulties, endure hardships, and contemn every danger. The General ardently wishes it were now in his power, to conduct the troops into the best winter quarters. But where are these to be found?

[34] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Tench Tilghman and Harrison.

Should we retire to the interior parts of the State, we should find them crowded with virtuous citizens, who, sacrificing their all, have left Philadelphia, and fled thither for protection. To their distresses humanity forbids us to add. This is not all, we should leave a vast extent of fertile country to be despoiled and ravaged by the enemy, from which they would draw vast supplies, and where many of our firm friends would be exposed to all the miseries of the most insulting and wanton depredation. A train of evils might be enumerated, but these will suffice. These considerations make it indispensibly necessary for the army to take such a position, as will enable it most effectually to prevent distress and to give the most extensive security; and in that position we must make ourselves the best shelter in our power. With activity and diligence Huts may be erected that will be warm and dry. In these the troops will be compact, more secure against surprises than if in a divided state and at hand to protect the country. These cogent reasons have determined the General to take post in the neighbourhood of this camp; and influenced by them, he persuades himself, that the officers and soldiers, with one heart, and one mind, will resolve to surmount every difficulty, with a fortitude and patience, be coming their profession, and the sacred cause in which they are engaged. He himself will share in the hardship, and partake of every inconvenience.

To morrow being the day set apart by the Honorable Congress for public Thanksgiving and Praise; and duty calling us devoutely to express our grateful acknowledgements to God for the manifold blessings he has granted us. The General directs that the army remain in it's present quarters, and that the Chaplains perform divine service with their several Corps and brigades. And earnestly exhorts, all officers and soldiers, whose absence is not indispensibly necessary, to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at the Gulph, December 18, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

Persons having any passes from Major John Clarke are to pass all guards.

The Commander in Chief approves, the following sentences of a General Court Martial, the 22nd. November last, whereof Major North was president.

Adjutant Ralston[35] of the 1st Pennsylvania Brigade, charged with "Making a false return, and signing it, with ungentlemanly behaviour, disobedience of orders, and leaving his arrest." By the unanimous opinion of the court, he was found guilty of making a false return, contrary to the 1st Article of the 5th Sec. of the articles of war, and sentenced to be cashiered.

Joseph Conn, Quarter Master of the 1st. Pennsylv. Regt. charged with "Disobedience of orders, neglect of duty and fraudulent conduct was acquitted of the charge of fraudulent conduct but found guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty," and sentenced to be dismissed from the service.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial held the 30th. of Novr. last of which Col. Grayson was president.

Capt. Havelman[36] charged with "Wounding Moses Plaine a soldier in the 11th. Virginia regiment," confessed the fact, but justified it by the insolence of the soldier. The Court having considered the evidence are of opinion the justification is not sufficient, and do sentence him to be reprimanded on the Grand parade by the Major General of the day. This is to be done the next time the guards are paraded.

[35] Robert Ralston.

[36] Capt. Arnold Havelman (Hevelman), of the Second Canadian Regiment.

The Major Generals and officers commanding divisions, are to appoint an active field officer in and for each of their respective brigades, to superintend the business of hutting, agreeably to the directions they shall receive; and in addition to these, the commanding officer of each regiment is to appoint an officer to oversee the building of huts for his own regiment; which officer is to take his orders from the field officer of the brigade he belongs to, who is to mark out the precise spot, that every *hut,* for officers and soldiers, is to be placed on, that uniformity and order may be observed.

An exact return of all the tools, now in the hands of every regiment, is to be made immediately to the Qr. Mr. General, who, with the Adjutant General, is to see that they, together with those in store, are duly and justly allotted to the regimental overseers of the work; who are to keep an account of the men's names, into whose hands they are placed, that they may be accountable for them. The Superintendents and Overseers are to be exempt from all other duty, and will moreover be allowed for their trouble.

The Colonels, or commanding officers of regiments, with their Captains, are immediately to cause their men to be divided into squads of twelve, and see that each squad have their proportion of tools, and set about a hut for themselves: And as an encouragement to industry and art, the General promises to reward the party in each regiment, which finishes their hut in the quickest, and most workmanlike manner, with *twelve* dollars. And as there is reason to believe, that boards, for covering, may be found scarce and difficult to be got; He offers *One hundred* dollars to any officer or soldier, who in the opinion of three Gentlemen, he shall appoint as judges, shall substitute some other covering, that may be cheaper and quicker made, and will in every respect answer the end.

The Soldier's huts are to be of the following dimensions, viz: fourteen by sixteen each, sides, ends and roofs made with logs, and the roof made tight with split slabs, or in some other way; the sides made tight with clay, fire-place made of wood and secured with clay on the inside eighteen inches thick, this fire-place to be in the rear of the hut; the door to be in the end next the street; the doors to be made of split oak-slabs, unless boards can be procured. Side-walls to be six and a half feet high. The officers huts to form a line in the rear of the troops, one hut to be allowed to each General Officer, one to the Staff of each brigade, one to the field officers of each regiment, one to the Staff of each regiment, one to the commissioned officers of two companies, and one to every twelve non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

AFTER ORDERS

The army and baggage are to march to morrow in the time and manner already directed in the orders of the 15th. instant, Genl. Sullivan's division excepted, which is to remain on its present ground 'till further orders.

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Gulph Mill, December 19, 1777.

Dr. Sir: With the Division lately commanded by Genl. Sullivan, you are to March immediately for Wilmington, and take Post there. You are not to delay a moment in putting the place in the best posture of defence, to do which, and for the security of it afterwards, I have written in urgent terms to the President of the Delaware State to give every aid he possibly can of Militia. I have also directed an Engineer to attend you for the purpose of constructing, and superintending the Works, and you will fix with the Quarter Master on the number of Tools necessary

for the business; but do not let any neglect, or deficiency on his part, impede your operations, as you are hereby vested with full power to sieze and take (passing receipts) such articles as are wanted. The Commissary and Forage Master will receive directions respecting your Supplies, in their way; but I earnestly request that you will see that these Supplies are drawn from the Country between you and Philadelphia, as it will be depriving the Enemy of all chance of getting them; and in this point of view, becomes an object to us of importance.

I earnestly exhort you to keep both Officers and Men to their duty, and to avoid furloughs but in cases of absolute necessity. You will also use your utmost endeavours to collect all the straglers &ca. from both Brigades, and you are also to use your best endeavours to get the Men Cloathed in the most comfortable manner you can.

You will be particular in your observation of every thing passing on the River and will communicate every matter of Importance to, Dear Sir, etc.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Camp 14 Miles from Philadelphia, December 19, 1777.

Sir: On Saturday Evening I was honored with your favor of the 6th. Instant, and am much obliged by your exertions for Cloathing the Virginia Troops. The Articles you send shall be applied to their use, agreeable to your wishes.[37] It will be difficult for me to determine when the Troops are supplied, owing to their fluctuating and deficient state at present; However I believe there will be little reason to suspect that the quantities that may be procured, will much exceed the necessary demands. It will be a happy circumstance, and of great saving, if we

[37] Henry had sent nine wagonloads of supplies and would forward, shortly, he wrote, £15,000 of woolens for clothing for the Virginia troops.

should be able in future to Cloath our Army comfortably. Their sufferings hitherto have been great, and from our deficiencies in this instance, we have lost many men and have generally been deprived of a large proportion of our Force. I could wish you to transmit the price of all the Necessaries, you may send from time to time. This will be essential, and the omission upon former occasions of the like Nature in the Course of the War, has been the cause of much unneasiness and intricacy in adjusting Accounts.

I am persuaded that many desertions have proceeded from the cause you mention. The Officers were highly culpable in making such assurances. The Expedient you propose might, and I believe would bring in several, but I cannot consider myself authorised to adopt it.[38]

The Letters for the Marquis were sent to his Quarters as soon as they were received. I shall present you to him according to your wishes. He is certainly amiable and highly worthy of Esteem.

I have nothing material to inform you of, Except that we are told by the Boston paper that a Ship has arrived from France at one of the eastern Ports, with Fifty pieces of Brass Artillery, 5000 Stand of Arms and other Stores. There are letters also which mention her arrival, but not the particular amount of the Stores. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I sent the Express on to Congress, which occasioned me to write by this Conveyance. I wrote you on the 13th Ulto. two Letters—one a private one. I am fearful and uneasy lest they should have miscarried, as you have not mentioned the Receipt of them.[39]

[38] Henry's letter stated that a great many deserters were skulking on the Eastern Shore. They had been promised that they would not be called away from there and, on being ordered north, had deserted. Henry's suggestion was that Washington pardon their desertion and promise that they would not be called away from the Shore, if they would surrender themselves. He argued that that many more recruits would be thus released elsewhere in Virginia for the main Army.

[39] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To PRESIDENT GEORGE READ

Head Quarters, Gulf Mill, December 19, 1777.

Sir: I have received information, which I have great reason to believe is true, that the Enemy mean to establish a post at Wilmington, for the purpose of Countenancing the disaffected in the Delaware State, drawing supplies from that Country and the lower parts of Chester County, and securing a post upon Delaware River during the Winter. As the advantages resulting to the Enemy from such a position are most obvious, I have determined and shall accordingly, this day send off General Smallwood with a respectable Continental force to take post at Wilmington before them. If Genl. Howe thinks the place of that Importance to him, which I conceive it is, he will probably attempt to dispossess us of it; and, as the force, which I can at present spare, is not adequate to making it perfectly secure, I expect that you will call out as many Militia as you possibly can to rendezvous without loss of time at Wilmington, and put themselves under the Command of Genl. Smallwood. I shall hope that the people will turn out cheerfully, when they consider that they are called upon to remain within, and defend, their own state.

In a letter, which I had the honor of receiving from you some little time past, you express a wish that some mode may be fallen upon to procure the exchange of Govr. McKinley. As this Gentleman will be considered in the Civil line, I have not any prisoner of War proper to be proposed for him. The application would go more properly to Congress, who have a number of State Prisoners under their direction for some of whom Sir Wm. Howe would probably exchange the Governor. I have the honor etc.

P. S. Let the Militia March to Wilmington by Companies, or even parts of Companies and form their Battalions there; Because if the Enemy move, it will be quickly.

PROCLAMATION

Head Quarters, near the Valley Forge,
December 20, 1777.

By virtue of the power and direction to me especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all persons residing within Seventy miles of my Head Quarters to thresh one half of their grain by the first day of February and the other half by the first day of March next ensuing, on pain in case of failure of having All that shall remain in Sheaves, after the periods above mentioned, seized by the Commissaries and Quarter Masters of the Army and paid for as Straw.[40]

To REVEREND NATHANIEL WHITAKER[41]

Valley Forge, December 20, 1777.

Revd. Sir: Your favour of the 24th. of September inclosing a discourse against Toryism, came safe to my hands. For the honour of the dedication, I return you my sincere thanks, and wish most devoutly that your labour may be crowned with the success it deserves.[42]

[40] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The printer's changes in capitalization and punctuation may be noted by a comparison of this draft text with the illustration facing next page. Tench Tilghman forwarded the text to John Dunlap, then in Lancaster, Pa., requesting him to strike off 300 handbills (see illustration) and to continue printing the Proclamation in his *Pennsylvania Packet* until the time limit mentioned therein expired. The quartermaster in Lancaster was to distribute the handbills. "If there is a German Paper printed in Lancaster be kind enough to have the proclamation printed in that also." Tilghman's letter to Dunlap, dated Dec. 22, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[41] A Presbyterian minister of Salem, Mass.

[42] Whitaker had delivered a discourse on Judges 5:23, and afterwards published it (34 pp. 12°, Newbury Port, 1777) under the title, "An Antidote of Toryism," and dedicated it to Washington.

You also have my gratefl. Thanks for your affectionate wishes. With great Esteem and Respect, I am etc.

To JOSEPH GALLOWAY

Head Quarters, December 20, 1777.

Sir: I have your favor of the 18th. by Mr. Potts. Commissioners being appointed by the Legislative Authority of this State, to take cognizance of, and to dispose of the personal Property of those who have willingly gone over to the Enemy, it is not in my power to grant a Licence for the removal of any of your Effects. I have not the least Objections to Mrs. Galloway's going to Philadelphia, and I shall be ready to furnish passports for that purpose, whenever they are applied for. I am etc.[43]

To JOHN POTTS

Head Quarters, December 20, 1777.

Sir: In Answer to your Letter delivered me by Major Jamieson.[44] When Mrs. Potts applies she will have my permission for herself and Children to go into Philadelphia. As to your Household furniture, I cannot consent to their removal, they being under the cognizance and direction of the Legislature of the State. The Bearer will escort you tomorrow morning as far as our Pickets. I am etc.[45]

To LIEUTENANT GENERAL JOHN BURGOYNE

Head Quarters, December 20, 1777.

Sir: When I had the Honor of addressing you on the 17th. Instant, I informed you, that I had transmitted a Copy of your

[43] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[44] Maj. John Jameson, of the Second Continental Dragoons. He was wounded near Valley Forge in January, 1778; lieutenant colonel in August, 1778; served to end of the war.

[45] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

By His Excellency

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esquire,

General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United States of America.

By Virtue of the Power and Direction to Me especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all Persons residing within seventy Miles of my Head Quarters to thresh one Half of their Grain by the 1st Day of February, and the other Half by the 1st Day of March next ensuing, on Pain, in Case of Failure of having all that shall remain in Sheaves after the Period above mentioned, seized by the Commissaries and Quarter-Masters of the Army, and paid for as Straw

GIVEN *under my Hand, at Head Quarters, near the Valley Forge, in Philadelphia County, this 20th Day of December*, 1777.

G. WASHINGTON.

By His Excellency's Command,

Robert H. Harrison, Sec'y.

LANCASTER: Printed by JOHN DUNLAP

Proclamation Ordering Farmers to Thresh Grain, December 20, 1777

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Letter to Congress. The inclosed Copy of their Resolution, passed upon the Subject, which I send in pursuance of their direction, will shew you the only Answer I have obtained to your propositions.[46]

It remains solely with Congress to grant the indulgencies which you request. The Bearer will immediately return, by whom you may have an Opportunity of writing to them. I have the Honor etc.[47]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., Valley Forge, December 20, 1777.

Dear Sir: I yesterday Evening received your favour of the 7th Instant, and am happy to find the first account of the arrival of the Ship with Artillery &ca. fully confirmed.[48] This event is fortunate and interesting, as it not only manifests the strong attachment of France to our cause, but also makes us very respectable in point of Artillery. I doubt not of your attention to secure the Stores, and wish your care of them. The Board of War, it is probable, will give particular directions about them.

The state of the Commissary's department has given me more concern of late, than any thing else. Unless matters in that line are very speedily taken up and put in a better train, the most alarming consequences are to be apprehended. Congress are already informed upon the subject, Yet I shall transmit them that part of your Letter which relates to it. Your conduct in delivering the Salt to Mr. Colt[49] so far from being censurable, gives you a claim, in my opinion, to the public thanks. Surely nothing can be more essential than laying up supplies of provision

[46] See *Journals of the Continental Congress,* Dec. 17, 1777.
[47] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[48] Beaumarchais's ship *Flamond,* at Portsmouth, N. H.
[49] Peter Colt, deputy commissary general of purchases, Eastern Department.

for the Army, and if the present moment is not siezed for the purpose I do not see how it will be possible to subsist it. The work has been already too long neglected. Should it be still deferred, the prospect before us will be painful and disagreeable. As far as your situation and circumstances will admit, I beg you to give Mr. Colt every spur in your power to prosecute the business. My last advices from Congress on this subject were that they had written to the State of Connecticut respecting it.

The Board of War have received some report, that a Genl. Hamilton[50] of Genl. Burgoyne's Army is desirous of being exchanged and serving in America. This they have not had from any proper authority. However I request that you will inquire into the matter, and if it is so, the measure will be readily come into on our part and may be carried into effect for the release of Brigadr. Genl. Thompson. At the same time, I would observe, if this is Genl. Hamilton's wish, it will be necessary for General Burgoyne to inform me of it, that application may be made to Genl. Howe, upon the Subject. It might not be improper for Genl. Burgoyne to inclose me a line from himself to Genl. Howe. I would have you introduce the matter as a report you had heard but not as coming from me, nor in nature of an application. If this Exchange should take place, perhaps it may be the means of bringing on others and of relieving many of our Officers from their present unhappy condition.

This Letter goes by an Express to Genl. Burgoyne. Congress will not consider or give any answer to any propositions or requests he may make for altering or dispensing with any Terms in the Convention of Saratoga, unless he makes them directly to themselves. I am etc.[51] [MS. H. S.]

[50] Maj. Gen. Sir Robert Hamilton. He was colonel of the Fortieth Foot, British Army, and a major general in America.

[51] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL HENRY E. LUTTERLOH[52]

December 20, 1777.

Whereas the Enemy, in their late excursions have carried off most of the Horses belonging to such of the inhabitants of the Counties of Philadelphia and Chester as have been within their reach, whereby they have been enabled to increase their number of light Dragoons. Therefore in order to prevent their making the like advantages in future and at the same time to enable us to remount our Dragoons upon such Horses as would otherwise in all probability fall into the hands of the Enemy, you are hereby authorized by yourself or any of your deputies or such other persons as are properly appointed by you, to remove all Horses of proper age and size for draft or saddle that may be found between our advanced posts and those of the Enemy. Excepting only such a number as may be absolutely necessary for the purpose of drawing Fuel for the Family during the Winter.

For the Horses so taken receipts are to be given, specifying their Age, size, colour and marks, and are to be brought to the Head Quarters of the Army where the owners are to attend and a proper value is to be affixed to each by persons indifferently chosen by yourself and them. You are to employ no persons in the execution of this Business, but those in whom you can place confidence and who will conduct themselves in such a manner as will not tend to give offence to the good people of the Country, but rather convince them of the equity and propriety of the measure which is calculated to secure and pay for that property which they have lately found our Enemies deprive them of, without any kind of compensation. I am &ca.[53]

[52] Col. Henry Emanuel Lutterloh, Deputy Quartermaster General.
[53] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, at the Valley Forge, December 20, 1777.

Parole Haverhill. Countersigns Concord, Cambridge.

Genl. McIntosh is appointed to the command of the North Carolina brigade.

The Major Generals accompanied by the Engineers are to view the ground attentively, and fix upon the proper spot and mode for hutting so as to render the camp as strong and inaccessible as possible. The Engineers after this are to mark the ground out, and direct the field Officers appointed to superintend the buildings for each brigade where they are placed.

The soldiers in cutting their firewood, are to save such parts of each tree, as will do for building, reserving sixteen or eighteen feet of the trunk, for logs to rear their huts with. In doing this each regiment is to reap the benefit of their own labour.

All those, who in consequence of the orders of the 18th instant, have turned their thoughts to an easy and expeditious method of covering the huts, are requested to communicate their plans to Major Generals Sullivan, Greene or Lord Stirling, who will cause experiments to be made, and assign the profer'd reward to the best projector.

The Quarter Master General is to delay no time, but use his utmost exertions, to procure large quantities of straw, either for covering the huts, if it should be found necessary, or for beds for the soldiers. He is to assure the farmers that unless they get their grain out immediately, the straw will be taken with the grain in it, and paid for as straw only.

The Quarter Master General is to collect, as soon as possible, all the tents not now used by the troops, and as soon as they are hutted, all the residue of the tents, and have them washed and well dried, and then laid up in store, such as are good for the

next campaign, the others for the uses which shall be directed; the whole are to be carefully preserved. The Colonels and Officers commanding regiments are forthwith to make return to the Qr. Mr. General, of every tent belonging to their corps.

The army being now come to a fixed station, the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades, are immediately to take effectual measures, to collect, and bring to camp, all the officers and soldiers at present scattered about the country.

All officers are enjoined to see that their men do not wantonly, or needlessly burn and destroy rails, and never fire their sheds or huts when they leave them.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley-Forge, December 21, 1777.

Parole Cumberland. Countersigns Carlisle, Caroline.

The field officers who are appointed to superintend the business of hutting, are to call upon Col. Meade at Head Quarters for the model of the huts, and directions about placing them.

Four Carpenters, and five expert axmen, from each division are to parade at General Sullivan's quarters at three o'clock this afternoon. Genl. Poor's and Glover's brigades to be considered as one division.

The General congratulates the army, on the arrival of a French Ship, at Portsmouth, with 48 brass cannon, 4 pounders, with carriages complete; 19 nine Inch mortars, 2500 nine inch bombs, 2000 four pound ball, entrenching tools, 4100 stands of arms, a quantity of powder and 61,051 lbs of sulpher.

AFTER ORDERS

All the Artillery of the army is to be collected together at the park; the detachments are to march thither, to morrow morning at nine o'clock.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 21, 1777.

Dear Sir: Major Clark has wrote to me several times about some provision that a Mr. Trumbull was sending into Philadelphia by his permission as a cover to procure intelligence. This provision was siezed by Colo. Ranking and has been since detained by him. I desire you will give orders to have it delivered, for unless we now and then make use of such means to get admittance into the City we cannot expect to obtain intelligence.

I think it of the greatest consequence to have what Hay remains upon the Islands above the mouth of Derby Creek destroyed, especially if what you heard of the former Magazine of Hay being spoiled is true. At any rate, as we cannot remove it, I think it should be done as speedily as possible, as we shall probably oblige them to come out into the Country to forage, which will perhaps give us an opportunity of cutting off a party. The mode I leave intirely to Colo. Morgan and yourself. I am informed that there are parties cutting wood every day on this side the Schuylkill. I do not doubt but they might easily be drove in, but I think destroying the Hay ought to be first attended to. I am &ca.[54]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Enemy marched out of Philadelphia this morning early with a considerable Body. Their intent is said to be to forage, but lest they may have something further in view, I think it proper to put you upon your guard. They encamp this Evening near Derby. I have this day received information,

[54] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

that the Troops were embarked some days ago, and were said to be destined for New York are designed to land in the lower Counties and collect Stock and Forages there and upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland. But I cannot say the information is much to be depended upon. You may easily know the probability of this, by sending down to inquire whether the Transports yet remain in Delaware Bay. I shall be glad to hear what progress you make in fortifying yourself, and whether the Militia join you in any considerable Number. I am etc.[55]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 22, 1777.

Sir: On Saturday Evening, I had the Honor to receive your Favor of the 17th Inst. with Its Inclosure. The next day I wrote to Genl. Burgoyne, upon the Subject of his Application, and transmitted him a Copy of the Resolution of Congress founded thereon. That the matter might not be delayed, I dispatched my Letter by the Express who brought yours, he having informed me, that you expected he would be sent with It.

It is with infinite pain and concern, that I transmit Congress the Inclosed Copies of Sundry Letters respecting the State of the Commissary's department. If these matters are not exaggerated, I do not know from what cause, this alarming deficiency or rather total failure of Supplies arises; But unless more Vigorous exertions and better regulations take place in that line, and immediately, this Army must dissolve.[56] I have done all in

[55] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[56] Extracts from letters (December 22) from Brig. Gens. Jedidiah Huntington and James Mitchell Varnum are typical:

"I received an order," wrote Huntington to Pickering, "to hold my Brigade in Readiness to march; fighting will be by far preferable to starving; my Brigade are out of Provisions nor can the Brigade Comisary obtain any Meat, it has several Times been the Case before though the Failure has generally been in Flour. I am exceedingly unhappy in being the Bearer of Complaints to Head Quarters. I have used every

my power, by remonstrating, by writing to, by ordering the Commissaries on this Head, from time to time; but without any good effect, or obtaining more than a present scanty relief. Owing to this, the march of the Army has been delayed upon more than one interesting occasion, in the course of the present Campaign, and had a Body of the Enemy crossed Schuylkill this Morning, as I had reason to expect from the intelligence I received at Four O'Clock last night, the Divisions which I ordered to be in readiness to march and meet them, could not have moved. It is unnecessary for me to add more upon the subject. I refer Congress to the Copies, by one of which they will perceive how very unfavorable also our prospect is, of having any considerable supplies of Salt Provisions for the ensuing Year.

I would also take the liberty of reminding Congress of the necessity of filling, as soon as possible, the Offices of Quarter Master[57] and Adjutant General. These Posts are of infinite importance, and without appointments to them, it will be impossible to conduct the Affairs of the Army. The first Office is now suffering much, for want of a Head to direct the great business of it, and the latter will be in the same predicament in the course of a few days by the departure of Colo. Pickering, who has

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Argument my Imagination could invent to make the Soldiers easy, but I despair of being able to do it much longer."

Varnum wrote: "According to the saying of Solomon, hunger will break thro' a Stone Wall. It is therefore a very pleasing Circumstance to the Division under my Command, that there is a probability of their marching. Three Days successively we have been destitute of Bread. Two Days we have been intirely without Meat. It is not to be had from the Commissaries. Whenever we procure Beef, it is of such a vile Quality, as to render it a poor Succerdernium for Food. The Men must be supplied, or they cannot be commanded. . . . The Complaints are too urgent to pass unnoticed. It is with Pain, that I mention this Distress. I know it will make your Excellency unhappy; But, if you expect the Exertions of virtuous Principles, while your Troops are deprived of the essential Necessaries of Life, your final Disappointment will be great, in Proportion to the Patience, which now astonishes every Man of human Feeling."

These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

[57] Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin had tendered his resignation as Quartermaster General of the Continental Army on November 7 on the ground of ill health.

been only waiting, since his appointment to the Board of War, for a Successor.

Congress were pleased by their Resolution of the 29th Ulto., to direct me to regulate the rank of Major Genl. Arnold and of Brigadier Genls. Woodford and Scott, by calling in their present Commissions and granting New ones agreable to the principle adopted in their Resolution of the 12th of the same Month. This business so far as it relates to Genl Arnold and General Scott is clear and admits of no difficulty. But it is otherwise in the case of Genl. Woodford. The principle adopted by the Resolution and previously recommended by a Board of General Officers upon another occasion, was, "That relative rank or precedence of Officers, should be settled according *to that standing they held in the Army immediately* before their present Commissions." At the time General Woodford was appointed, he held no rank in the Army. Hence arises the difficulty with me. Congress, therefore will be pleased to take up the matter and to grant him such a Commission as will satisfy their own intention. His claim is, to rank before such of the Gentlemen appointed Brigadiers when he was, as were younger Colonels than himself. If this was intended by Congress, in their Resolution of the 29th Ulto. and I presume it was, or it can have no operation as to him, an explanatory and directory Resolve would answer every purpose as from that a Commission might be filled up, agreable to their views respecting him. I wish this business to be determined on as early as possible, in whatever mode Congress may think proper, as no subject can be more disagreeable or injurious to the service than that of contested rank. The Generals, who were younger Colonels and promoted above him, I believe were Wayne, Muhlenberg and Weedon. From the difficulties which have arisen in several instances of this sort, in the course of the present Year, I trust Congress will

be more guarded in future. They may not be so intimately acquainted with them as I am, But they may be assured there are none of a more fatal and injurious tendency. When rank is once given, no matter upon what principle, whether from mistake or other causes, the Party in possession of it, in most cases is unwilling to give it up, tho' the most obvious principles of Justice, or even the Public good should require it. Such is the general ambition of Men and attachment to their own private preferment. It is a truth, that it will even be found more easy to prevent than to remedy difficulties after they have happened. I do not mention these things from a wish or disposition to dictate, Nothing being farther from my intention; but because my feelings are every day wounded by the discontent, complaints and jarring of the Officers not to add resignations. All of great detriment to the service.

3 O'Clock P. M.

Just as I was about to conclude my Letter, your favor of the 20th with its several Inclosures came to hand.

It would give me infinite pleasure to afford protection to every individual and to every Spot of Ground in the whole of the United States. Nothing is more my wish. But this is not possible with our present force. In all wars, from the nature of things, Individuals and particular places must be exposed. It has ever been and ever will be the case, and we have only to pity and to regret the misfortune of those, who from their situation are subject to ravage and depredation. These facts are evident and obvious to all, and if that system of conduct is pursued by an Army, which is most likely to give the most general and extensive security, it is all that can be done or expected from it. I assure you, Sir, no circumstance in the course of the present contest, or in my whole life, has employed more of my reflection

or consideration than in what manner to effect this and to dispose of the Army during the [present] Winter. Viewing the Subject in any point of light, there was choice of difficulties. If keeping the Field was thought of, the naked condition of the Troops and the feelings of Humanity opposed the measure: If retiring to the Towns in the interior parts of the State, which consistently with the preservation of the Troops, from their necessitous circumstances, might have been justifiable, the measure was found inexpedient because it would have exposed and left uncovered, a large extent of Country. If cantoning the Troops in several places, divided and distant from each other, then there was a probability of their being cut off, and but little prospect of their giving security to any part. Under these Embarrassments, I determined to take post near this place, as the best calculated, in my Judgement to secure the Army, to protect our Stores and cover the Country; and for this purpose we are beginning to hut, and shall endeavour to accomplish it, as expeditiously as possible. I have also from a desire of preventing the Enemy from an intercourse with the Delaware State and from making incursions there detached Genl Smallwood with the Maryland forces to take post at Wilmington, which I had strong reasons to believe the Enemy intended. This However, I cannot but consider as hazardous, and shall be happy if it does not turn out so. I have it also in contemplation, to throw a Bridge over Schuylkill near this place,[58] as soon as it is practicable by means of which I hope we shall be able, in a great measure with the aid of the Militia to check the Excursions of the Enemy's parties on the other side. As to Jersey, I am sensible of her sufferings and exertions in the present contest, and

[58] This bridge was defended on the west side of the Schuylkill by what was called "the Star Redoubt."

there is no State to which I would more willingly extend protection; But as I have observed, it is not in my power to give it, in that degree, in which it seems to be wished and expected. I cannot divide the Army, not superior (from sickness and other causes equally painful when collected) to the Enemy's force, into detachments contrary to every Military principle and to our own experience of the dangers that would attend it. If this is done, I cannot be answerable for the consequences. My feelings lead strongly to Universal relief, but I have not the power to afford it. Nevertheless it has been and is still my intention, as soon as I have formed and secured this Camp to detach a small force to aid and countenance their Militia. This is all it appears to me that can be done, and I hope their apprehensions for the greater part will prove rather imaginary than well grounded; tho' I confess there are strong reasons to conclude the Enemy will not be remiss, in their acts of violence and injury there or any where else.

Inclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Genl. Howe of the 21st in answer to mine of 28th Ulto. and 14 Inst. From this it appears, Transports have sailed to take in Genl Burgoyne and his Troops. Should Mr. Boudinot be at York, I think it will be adviseable to shew him the Copy of Genl. Howe's Letter, that he may expedite the return of the Officers that an equal number of Our's may be released. I have the honor &ca.

P. S. A larger supply of Blank Commissions are still wanted, but few of the States having granted them to their Officers.[59]

[59] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent is not found among the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It was read in Congress on December 26 and referred, along with Washington's letter of December 23 to Congress, to William Duer, John Witherspoon, and John Harvie. On December 29 this committee was discharged and the letters referred to the Board of War, to which Cornelius Harnett, Elbridge Gerry, and Abraham Clark were added. The report of the board on regulating the department of the Commissary General of Military Stores was rendered Feb. 5, 1778, and agreed to by Congress on Feb. 7, 1778.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, December 22, 1777.

Gentn.: Your favor of the 14th. inst. I received on Saturday Evening. The release of Genl. Thompson is what I wish much to effect. No circumstances have arisen since his captivity by which it could be accomplished. Your letter is the first and only information I have had, respecting Genl. Hamilton's desire of being exchanged and remaining in America, having never received a line from General Gates or any intelligence from him or any other person upon the subject. However, that Genl. Thompson may have a chance of being relieved from his present disagreeable situation, and of being in a situation to give the States his services, I have written to Genl. Heath to inquire into the matter and to mention it to Genl. Hamilton. If it is wished by him and Genl. Burgoyne, which I shall know from Genl. Heath, I am hopeful Genl Howe will consent to an Exchange. I have the honor etc.[60]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, December 22, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The good of the service requiring at this time, the attention of officers and soldiers to duty, the General orders, that no furloughs be granted to officers above the rank of Captain, but from himself; nor to those below that rank, but from the Major General, or Officer commanding the division, they belong to: Noncommissioned Officers and privates may be furloughed by their respective Brigadiers, or officers commanding brigades.

[60] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

But the General does in most express and positive terms, enjoin the Major Generals and Brigadiers, to grant furloughs only in case of absolute necessity, and even then to have proper regard to the state and condition of the regiment and company, before they are given. All furloughs to officers are to be registered by the Adjutant of the regiment; and those to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, by the commanding officer of the company they belong to, or they will not be deemed valid. The strictest punctuality, in returning, at the expiration of their furloughs will be required of all those who obtain them.

Major General Sullivan having obligingly undertaken the direction of a bridge to be built over the Schuylkill, is to be excused from the common duties of the camp.

The old and new field Officers of the day are to be punctual, as to time in their attendance, at the mounting of the picquets, that the duty may go on regularly, and the men not to be detained on the parade. And it is expressly ordered that officers and men, who go on picquet take their provisions with them, as none will be allowed to come off to get them.

As the proper arming of the officers would add considerable strength to the army, and the officers themselves derive great confidence from being armed in time of action, the General orders every one of them to provide himself with a half-pike or spear, as soon as possible; firearms when made use of with drawing their attention too much from the men; and to be without either, has a very aukward and unofficerlike appearance. That these half-pikes may be of one length and uniformly made, the Brigadiers are to meet at General Maxwell's quarters to morrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and direct their size and form.

The Quarter Master General is to provide a number of pails, that every hut may have one.

Any soldier who shall be found discharging his musket without leave, and in an irregular manner, is to receive 20 lashes immediately on the spot.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col. Grayson was president, held on the 30th. of November last, Capt. Duffey was tried on the charge of "Having broke his arrest." The court having duly weighed the evidence, and the circumstances of the case, are of opinion that Capt. Duffey did break his arrest, by going six miles from camp, without leave of the commanding officer of the regiment, and falls under the penalty of the 20th. Article, 14th Section of the articles of war: But as it is not in proof that he did this in order to avoid a trial, or to screen himself from Justice, and it appearing in evidence, that he is an excellent officer, and has rose from the station of a soldier to his present rank by merit alone, the Court do in the strongest terms unanimously recommend him to His Excellency's clemency. The General approves the sentence; but for the reasons assigned in the above recommendation pardons the prisoner, and orders that he go on duty.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of a General Court Martial, whereof Col. Ogden was president, held the 2nd. instant, viz:

Captain Vail[61] of the 2nd. N. Carolina battalion, charged with "1st, Cowardice at the battle of Germantown; 2nd, with not taking his post when ordered," was found guilty of the first charge and sentenced to be dismissed from the service; and that his crime, name, place of abode, and punishment, be published in the news-papers in and about the camp, and that particular state from which he came; and that it shall be deemed scandalous for any officer to associate with him. The Court acquit Capt. Vail of the 2nd. charge.

[61] Capt. Edward Vail.

Capt. Granburry[62] of the 3rd. N. Carolina Battn. charged with "1st, Neglecting his duty and quitting his command; 2nd, With misdemeanors unbecoming the character of an officer," was acquitted of both charges.

AFTER ORDERS

A Captain, Subaltern and twenty men from each brigade, together with the Brigade Commissaries and their waggons, are to parade forthwith in the road and field near the Bake-house by Head Quarters, and take instructions from Col. Stewart, Commissary General of Issues.

Each brigade thro' the line to furnish a good partizan Captain, two Subs, three Serjeants, three Corporals and fifty privates, all picked men, fit for annoying the enemy in light parties. Those of the Right Wing to parade at General Sullivan's quarters, and receive orders from him; those of the Left Wing at General Greene's quarters, and take orders from him; those of the second line and of the N. Carolina Brigade at the park, and take orders from Lord Stirling. The whole to parade immediately and to be furnished with a full supply of ammunition of 40 rounds each.

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, December 23, 1777.

Sir: Full as I was in my representation of matters in the Commys. departmt. yesterday, fresh, and more powerful reasons oblige me to add, that I am now convinced, beyond a doubt that unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place in that line, this Army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things. Starve, dissolve, or disperse, in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they

[62] Capt. Thomas Granberry.

can; rest assured Sir this is not an exaggerated picture, but [and] that I have abundant reason to support what I say.

Yesterday afternoon receiving information that the Enemy, in force, had left the City, and were advancing towards Derby with apparent design to forage, and draw Subsistance from that part of the Country, I order'd the Troops to be in readiness, that I might give every opposition in my power; when, behold! to my great mortification, I was not only informed, but convinced, that the Men were unable to stir on Acct. of Provision, and that a dangerous Mutiny begun the Night before, and [which] with difficulty was suppressed by the spirited exertion's of some officers was still much to be apprehended on acct. of their [for] want of this Article.

This brought forth the only Comy. in the purchasing Line, in this Camp; and, with him, this Melancholy and alarming truth; that he had not a single hoof of any kind to Slaughter, and not more than 25. Barls. of Flour! From hence form an opinion of our Situation when I add, that, he could not tell when to expect any.

All I could do under these circumstances was, to send out a few light Parties to watch and harrass the Enemy, whilst other Parties were instantly detached different ways to collect, if possible, as much Provision as would satisfy the present pressing wants of the Soldiery. But will this answer? No Sir: three or four days bad weather would prove our destruction. What then is to become of the Army this Winter? and if we are as often without Provisions now, as with it [them], what is to become of us in the Spring, when our force will be collected, with the aid perhaps of Militia, to take advantage of an early Campaign before the Enemy can be reinforced? These are considerations of great magnitude, meriting the closest attention, and will, when my own reputation is so intimately connected, and to be

affected by the event, justifie my saying that the present Commissaries are by no means equal to the execution [of the Office] or that the disaffection of the People is past all belief. The misfortune however does in my opinion, proceed from both causes, and tho' I have been tender heretofore of giving any opinion, or lodging complaints, as the change in that departmt. took place contrary to my judgment,[63] and the consequences thereof were predicted; yet, finding that the inactivity of the Army, whether for want of provisions, Cloaths, or other essentials, is charged to my Acct., not only by the common vulgar, but those in power, it is time to speak plain in exculpation of myself; with truth then I can declare that, no Man, in my opinion, ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the Army. Since the Month of July, we have had no assistance from the Quarter Master Genl.[64] and to want of assistance from this department, the Commissary Genl. charges great part of his deficiency; to this I am to add, that notwithstanding it is a standing order (and often repeated) that the Troops shall always have two days Provisions by them, that they may [might] be ready at any sudden call, yet, no oppertunity has scarce[ly] ever yet happened [offered] of taking advantage of the Enemy that has not been either totally obstructed or greatly impeded on this Acct., and this tho' the great and crying evil is not all. Soap, Vinegar and other Articles allowed by Congress we see none of nor have [we] seen [them] I believe since the battle of brandywine; the first indeed we have now little occasion of [for] few men having more than one Shirt, many only the Moiety of one, and Some

[63] The change was ordered by Congress. (See resolves of June 10, Oct. 4, and Nov. 24, 1777, in *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

[64] Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin. He had resigned as Quartermaster General of the Continental Army Nov. 7, 1777, to become a member of the Continental Board of War.

none at all; in addition to which as a proof of the little benefit received from a Cloathier Genl., and at the same time as a further proof of the inability of an Army under the circumstances of this, to perform the common duties of Soldiers (besides a number of Men confind to Hospitals for want of Shoes, and others in farmers Houses on the same Acct.) we have, by a field return this day made no less than 2898 Men now in Camp unfit for duty because they are bare foot and otherwise naked and by the same return it appears that our whole strength in continental Troops (Including the Eastern Brigades which have joined us since the surrender of Genl. Burgoyne) exclusive of the Maryland Troops sent to Wilmington amount to no more than 8200 In Camp fit for duty. Notwithstanding which, and that, since the 4th Instt. our Numbers fit for duty from the hardships and exposures they have undergone, particularly on Acct. of Blankets (numbers being [having been] obliged and [still are to] do set up all Night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest in a natural [and common] way) have decreased near 2000 Men. we find Gentlemen without knowing whether the Army was really going into Winter Quarters or not (for I am sure no resolution of mine would warrant the remonstrance)[65] reprobating the measure as much as if they thought Men [the Soldiery] were made of Stocks or Stones and equally insensible of frost and Snow and moreover, as if they conceived it [easily] practicable for an inferior Army under the disadvantages I have describ'd our's to be wch. is by no means exagerated to confine a superior one (in all respects well appointed, and provided for a Winters Campaign) within the City of Phila., and [to] cover from depredation and waste the

[65] The Pennsylvania Legislature addressed a remonstrance to Washington against putting the Army into winter quarters. (See *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, 6, 104.)

States of Pensa., Jersey, &ca. but what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eye is, that these very Gentn. who were well apprized of the nakedness of the Troops, from occular demonstration [who] thought their own Soldiers worse clad than others, and advised me, near a Month ago, to postpone the execution of a Plan, I was about to adopt (in consequence of a resolve of Congress) for seizing Cloaths, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days agreeably to a decree of the State,[66] not one Article of wch., by the bye, is yet come to hand, should think a Winters Campaign and the covering these States from the Invasion of an Enemy so easy [and practicable] a business. I can assure those Gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fire side than to occupy a cold bleak hill and sleep under frost and Snow without Cloaths or Blankets; however, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked, and distressed Soldier, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my Soul pity those miseries, wch. it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent.

It is for these reasons therefore I have dwelt upon the Subject, and it adds not a little to my other difficulties, and distress, to find that much more is expected of me than is possible to be performed, and that upon the ground of safety and policy, I am obliged to conceal the true State of the Army from Public view and thereby expose myself to detraction and Calumny.

The Honble. Comee of Congress went from Camp fully possessed of my Sentiments respecting the Establishment of this Army, the necessity of Auditors of Accts, appointment of Officers, new arrangements, &ca. I have no need therefore to be prolix on these Subjects, but refer to them after adding a word

[66] Col. John Bayard and James Young were a committee of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety which consulted Washington on the matter of clothing for the Pennsylvania troops.

or two to shew, first, the necessity of some better provision for binding the Officers by the tye of Interest to the Service (as No day, nor scarce an hour passes without the offer of a resignd Commission) otherwise I much doubt the practicability of holding the Army together much longer. In this I shall, probably, be thought more sincere, when I freely declare that I do not, myself, expect to derive the smallest benefit from any establishment that Congress may adopt, otherwise than as a Member of the Community at large in the good which I am perswaded will result from the measure by making better Officers and better Troops, and Secondly to point out the necessity of making the Appointments, arrangements, &ca. without loss of time. We have not more than 3 Months to prepare a great deal of business in; if we let these slip, or waste, we shall be labouring under the same difficulties all next Campaign as we have done this, to rectifie mistakes and bring things to order. Military arrangements and movements in consequence, like the Mechanism of a Clock, will be imperfect, and disorderd, by the want of a part; in a very sensible degree have I experienced this in the course of the last Summer, Several Brigades having no Brigadiers appointed to them till late and some not at all; by which means it follows that an additional weight is thrown upon the Shoulders of the Commander in chief to withdraw his attention from the great line of his duty. The Gentlemen of the Comee. when they were at Camp talk'd of an expedient for adjusting these matters, which I highly approved and wish to see adopted namely, that two or three Members of the Board of War or a Comee of Congress should repair immediately to Camp where the best aid can be had and with the Commanding Officer, or a Comee of his appointing[ment] prepare and digest the most perfect plan that can be devised for correcting all abuses, making new arrangements, considering what is to be done with the

weak and debelitated regiments (if the States to wch they belong, will not draft men to fill them, for as to enlisting Soldiers it seems to me to be totally out of the question) together with many other things that would occur in the course of such a conference, and after digesting matters in the best manner they can to submit the whole to the ultimate determination of Congress. If this measure is approved of I would earnestly advise the immediate execution of it and that the Comy. General of Purchases whom I rarely see, may be directed to form Magazines without a Moments delay, in the Neighbourhood of this Camp in order to secure Provision for us in case of bad weather; the Quarter Mr. Genl. ought also to be busy in his department; in short there is as much to be done in preparing for a Campaign as in the active part of it; in fine, every thing depends upon the preparation that is made in the several departments in the course of this Winter and the success, or misfortunes of next Campaign will more than probably originate with our activity, or supineness this Winter. I am &ca.[67]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley-Forge, December 23, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

Those men engaged in building the bridge, under General Sullivan's direction, are to be supplied with provisions by themselves, upon General Sullivan's order and are therefore to be deducted from the regimental provision returns.

[67] The bracketed words in this letter are Robert Hanson Harrison's efforts to improve Washington's diction. The letter sent is missing from the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It was sold at auction in 1933 and, from the catalogue description, was a copy, by Harrison, of Washington's autograph draft. Harrison's copy, which Washington signed, shows a few minor verbal variations. (See note to letter of Washington to the President of Congress, Dec. 22, 1777, *ante*.)

To MAJOR JOHN JAMESON

December 24, 1777.

You are hereby directed to repair to the East side of Schuylkill and take the command of the parties of Horse stationed upon the different Roads leading into the City of Philadelphia.

You are not only to watch the motions of the Enemy upon that quarter, but what you are principally to attend to, is to endeavour to cut off the intercourse between the Country and the City of Philadelphia. In order to do this more effectually, you are to Sieze all provision of every kind going into the City with the Horses or Carriages upon which it is conveyed without respect to persons, and if any are taken carrying in such quantities as appear to you intended for sale and a supply to the markets, you are to apprehend them and send them with proper Witnesses to Head Quarters, that they may be dealt with according to a Resolve of Congress[68] lately passed for the purpose of cutting off the intercourse between the City and Country.

The provision so Siezed is to be applied, part thereof to the Support of the parties under your command and the remainder to be sent to the Commissary General. The Horses and Carriages to the Qr. Mr. General.

You are to make a return of the number of Men and Condition of the Horses upon the East side of Schuylkill, that they may be increased or diminished as the nature of the Service may require.

You are to inform Genl. Count Polaski of your being sent upon this command, and you are to forward to me the earliest intelligence of any thing that you may judge material. I am etc.[69]

[68] The resolve of Oct. 9, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)
[69] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley-Forge, December 24, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

Every regiment is to draw provisions, to complete their rations, for to morrow; and the whole army being supplied up to that time, the Issuing Commissaries are then to make return, to the Commissary General of Issues, of all the provisions they have on hand.

*To ELBRIDGE GERRY

Valley Forge, December 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: Notwithstanding my last Letters to Congress were very explicit, and expressive of the wants of this Army, the necessity of arranging many matters in it, and making the necessary appointments without a moments loss of time, yet, when I consider the advanced Season, and consult my past experience of delay, I am induced to take the liberty of claiming your particular attention to this business; hoping thereby, that the method suggested by you, of having a Comee. of Congress, or from the board of War, sent to Camp to consult with me, or a Comee. of my appointing (for it would be impossible for me to give that close attention which the nature of the thing would require) on the best regulations, arrangements, and Plans for the next Campaign will be approved.

If this method should be adopted by Congress, I would feign hope that the powers of their Comee. might not be confined to particular matters, but generl. and extensive; Congress reservg. to themselves the right of approving or disapproving the proceedings. Our whole Military system might then be considered, and such alterations as should be found necessary and beneficial, and that circumstances would admit of, be adopted.

If this Comee. should happen to be composed of Members from the board of War, they could fix many matters at the sametime with Genl. Knox in the Ordnance department, which requires as close attention and dispatch; as any thing whatever; in short I can foresee many great advantages which would result from it, without one possible evil.

I shall be obliged to you for recollecting what I mentioned respecting some additional Aids; I find, especially at times; the multiplicity of writing, and other business too great for those I have. Congress may be assured I do not want to run the public to any unnecessary expence on this Acct. and that I shall be as sparing as possible in my appointments under the Indulgence they may give. I am, etc.

P. S. If Congress mean to adopt the half pay establishmt. &c. much good would result from anouncing it soon; that all Officers who should be retaind, under the New regulations, may know at once what they have to trust to; this would, probably, begin the desired reformation in the Army whereas, under uncertainty and doubt, things at best, will jog on as usual. [M.L.]

To GOVERNOR RICHARD CASWELL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 25, 1777.

Sir: I had the honor to receive your Favor of the 25th Ulto., with its Inclosures by yesterday's Post. A spirit of resigning their Commissions, whether resulting from necessary causes or feigned ones, I cannot determine, has been but too prevalent in the Army of late. I have discountenanced it as much as possible, especially where the Applications were by men of merit and in some such instances have peremptorily refused to grant them. The practice is of a pernicious tendency and must have an unhappy influence on the service. At the same time, it is to

be observed, where Officers wish to resign, whose Characters are exceptionable or do not stand in a favorable point of view, their Commissions should be received, as their continuance would not promote the Public Interest and might prevent the promotion of better men. I shall pay due regard to the Resolve of your Honble. House of Commons,[70] and that their views may be the more fully answered, I shall deliver a Copy of it to the Commanding Officer of your Troops, that it may be communicated through their Line.

I have nothing that is agreeable or interesting to inform you of in the Military Line. The Enemy still remain in possession of Philadelphia, and are strongly fortified by a Chain of Intrenchments and Redoubts from Schuylkill to Delaware. By a Letter from the Eastward, a ship arrived at Portsmouth (New Hampshire), about the last Ulto. in Seventy five days from Marseilles with forty Eight Brass four pounders, 19. nine Inch Mortars, 4110 stand of Arms, 9 Tons of Powder and 61,051 lb. of sulphur, 2500 9 Inch Shells and 2000, 4 lb Balls for the United States. This is an agreeable event, as it is a recent proof of the friendly disposition of the French Nation. I have the honor etc.[71]

*ORDERS FOR A MOVE THAT WAS INTENDED AGAINST PHILADELPHIA BY WAY OF SURPRISE[72]

[December 25, 1777.]

Jameson with the light Horse now on the other side Schuylkill to guard the Avenues to the City, and even to form a Chain across from Kensington to Schuylkill; and stop, and secure every

[70] The Legislature of North Carolina had passed a resolve that any Carolina officer who resigned from the Army, except for good reasons certified to by the Commander in Chief, would be deemed incapable thereafter of holding any civil or military office in the gift of the State.

[71] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[72] This document, in the writing of Washington, is also indorsed by him as here titled.

Person going in, and coming out. obtaing. from them all the Intelligence he can.

A Small Party of Horse under a careful Officer to waylay the road from the Middle and upper Ferry, and do the same.

A Party of foot at each ford from Sweedes to the Falls, for the same purpose.

Lord Stirlings division, with Morgans Corp, and the Detachments from the Line together with Potters Militia to keep up the appearance of an Attack upon the Enemys left, and to harrass the Enemy as much as possible; to give, in short, every opposition, to afford time for the Baggage &ca. to be removed from our present Camp. if that Camp cannot be defended.

Half the Horse at present on the West side of Schuylkill. to Patrol near the Enemy's Lines, and Stop deserters and others from going to them, with Intelligence. and give informn. to me of the Enemy's Mvs.

The other half to follow in the Rear of the Army, and watch all the Fords from Sweedes downwards on the East side; to see if the Enemy approaches to either.

A Spirited and enterprizing (Captn.) with three good Subs, 4 Sergeants and 60 Rank and File from each Brigade, with a good guide, to March in Front under the direction of a Colo., L. Colo. and Major and to possess themselves by surprize of the Redoubts; immediately, upon the doing of which, to form a Chain of Centrys from the one to the other to prevent any Person from going out, and to defend them to the last extremity against the Enemy.

The Right Wing of the Army (under Genl. Sullivan) is, immediately upon their passing the Enemys Lines to hasten towards the four Ferries, and possess themselves of the Bridges; cut them loose from the West Shore; and defend the Passes till further orders. and, as this is a Work which depends more upon

secrecy and dispatch than Numbers, no time should be lost in the execution. Genl. Woodfords Brigade to furnish one Regiment for the Security of the upper Ferry (just within the Enemys Lines) and to possess themselves of the Redoubts (at all events) which defend the bridge at the middle Ferry which is to be cut away from the West side as before described. Genl. Scotts Brigade is to do the same at Greys Ferry, and Genl. Waynes division the like at the lower Ferry of all over to Provence Island. Genl. Poors Brigade is to join the Reserve form on the Right of it, at the place, and in the manner hereafter described.

The Left Wing is to March immediately into the City by the way of take possession of the most advantageous parts release our own Prisrs. and demand a surrender of the Enemys Arms under promise of good Quarter in case of compliance, and no Quarter if opposition is given. Also to threaten all the Ships in the Docks with destruction to themselves; (by Fire) and to the Crews by the Sword, if they Stir or offer to resist. The Batteries above, and below the City, to be immediately possessed, and a number of Artillery men thrown into them with the Leavies 2 field pieces to annoy any ships which may attempt to escape; this business to be undr. the care of Genl. Knox.

Poors, Varnums, Huntingtons and the No. Carolina Brigades are to form a Corps of reserve, and draw up in a line on the Common of Phila. near the Center House facing the City. Where I [[73]]

The Pensylvania Militia under Genl. Armstrong to March and form a junction with Lord Stirling the Moment our lodgment is made; and in the meanwhile, to move towards Matsons ford for that purpose, or for covering our retreat, or securing our Camp, in case of a disaster or disappointment. General

[73] Mutilated manuscript.

Smallwood is also to join Lord Stirling, and the force of Pensa., Maryland, the lower Counties and Jerseys with Provns. to be pourd In to Crush Howe before he could recovr. from the Surprize or regain his Ships.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 25, 1777.

Parole Springfield. Countersigns Windsor, Hartford.

Each brigade is to detach an active, careful subaltern and eight men, who with an Assistant Commissary are to go to such places as the Commissary General, or his Assistant at Camp shall direct, for the purpose of collecting flour, grain, cattle and pork for the army. Such men are to be selected, as are able of body, and know how to thresh. Lieut. Col. Bayard[74] is to take the command of these detachments, and see them duly employed for the purposes above mentioned. The men are to take their arms, blankets and necessaries with them; and parade to morrow morning at nine o'clock, at the Black-Bull. Three baggage waggons of each brigade are to be unloaded and parade at the same time and place, to go with the detachments.

Very correct returns are to be made immediately, of every corps in the army, to be transmitted to their respective states, to enable them to determine on the measures best adapted for completing the corps to the establishment. Of the nine old Virginia regiments, the number reinlisted are to be particularly specified, and in the New England regiments those inlisted for a short period are to be distinguished from the rest.

Complaint has been made, that divers soldiers, some on horseback, have been plundering the inhabitants; this probably arises

[74] Lieut. Col. Stephen Bayard, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1783.

at least in part from the rolls not being regularly called, and absentees duly noticed. The General requires therefore that this be constantly done in future; and if any soldier is caught riding a waggon or other horse, in or out of camp, he is to be severely punished.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 26, 1777.

Parole Cape Henry. Countersigns Cape Cod, Cape May.

A General Court Martial is to set at the House of Wiley Bodles, near the provost, at nine o'clock, this morning, for the trial of all prisoners which shall be brought before them. Colonel Scammell is appointed president of this court; and a Captain from Muhlenberg's, 2nd. Pennsylvania, Glover's, Paterson's, Huntington's, and McIntosh's brigades, and a subaltern from Weedan's, Woodford's, Scott's, 1st Pennsylvania, Learned's and Varnum's brigades, will constitute the members of the court.

Henry McCormick Esqr. is appointed Brigade Major to the first Pennsylvania brigade, and is to be respected as such.

It is with inexpressible grief and indignation that the General has received information of the cruel outrages and roberries lately committed by soldiers, on the other side of the Schuylkill: Were we in an enemy's country such practices would be unwarrantable; but committed against our friends are in the highest degree base, cruel, and injurious to the cause in which we are engaged. They demand therefore, and shall receive the severest punishment. Such crimes have brought reproach upon the army; and every officer and soldier suffers by the practices of such villains; and 'tis the interest, as well as duty, of every honest man to detect them, and prevent a repetition of such crimes. The General earnestly desires the General

Officers, and those commanding Corps, to represent to their men, the cruelty, baseness and wickedness, of such practices, and the injury they do the army, and the common cause. And still further, to prevent the commission of those crimes, the General positively orders.

1st. That no officer, under the degree of a Field Officer, or officer commanding a regiment, give passes to non-commissioned officers or soldiers, on any pretence whatever.

2nd. That no non-commissioned officer, or soldier, have with him, arms of any kind, unless he is on duty.

3rd. That every non-commissioned officer, or soldier, caught without the limits of the camp, not having such pass, or with his arms, shall be confined and severely punished.

4th. That the rolls of each company be called frequently, and that every evening, at different times, between the hours of *eight* and *ten* o'clock, all the men's quarters be visited, by such officers as the Brigadiers or the Officers commanding corps, shall daily appoint, and all absentees are to be exemplarily punished.

5th. That as some of the villains complained of, have been found mounted upon waggon horses; every waggon-master and conductor of waggons, is constantly to be near his charge, and frequently, particularly every evening and morning, to inspect his waggons, and horses, and see that neither they, nor the waggoners are missing; and if a waggoner, or any of his horses are missing, and not on duty, he is to be confined and punished.

Complaint has been made by the Surgeons of the hospitals, that the sick are often sent to them, without the lists required by the General Orders issued the 12th. of November. To those orders all officers are referred for direction in this point, and for the disposition of the arms of the sick.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, December 26, 1777.

Sir: The reason of my troubling you, at this time, is, to request, that Congress will defer their decision on General Woodford's claim of rank for the present. I find that the Gentn. affected by it, are much averse to it, and therefore shall direct the whole to state their objections, which I shall transmit by the earliest opportunity that, Congress may be fully possessed of the Subject and apprized of the difficulties involved in matters of this sort. I have the honor, etc.[75]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Sir: On Wednesday I had the Honor to receive your letter of the 9th. Instt., I have directed a Compleat state of the Virginia Troops to be made, which if done and I expect it will, I will transmit it by the next post. From it you will be able to discover the Amount of the Whole, their deficiency, How many Men of the Old Regiments have reinlisted &c.

I do not recollect ever to have heard that Genl. Stephen was employed or that he had interested himself to reinlist the Troops before the receipt of your favor. But however this may have been, It is evident, his Success was not very great or by any means equal to what his Letter of the 12th of April professes. This you will readily conclude from an Inspection of the return, especially, when you are informed that most, if not every Man reinlisted, have been engaged within the course of a few Weeks past, by the exertions of their Genl. and other Officers in Consequence of my Orders. As an inducement to this desirable end, the Officers were authorised to promise a Furlough

[75] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

to such as would re-engage till March, and I hoped the Measure would have been attended with more happy effects than it has been. I really do not know what plans will be most likely to succeed for filling your Battalions or those of the other States. It is an Object of infinite, indeed of the last importance, and must be effected if possible. All the difficulties we are now involved in, are the result of the fatal, ruinous policy, of temporary and short Inlistments.

In Several of my late Letters, I addressed you on the distresses of the Troops for want of Cloathing. Your ready exertions to releive them have given me the highest satisfaction. At the same time, knowing how exceedingly the Service has been injured, How great the Sufferings and loss of Men thro' this want, I cannot but hope every measure will be pursued, that circumstances will admit, to keep them Supplied from time to time. No pains, no efforts can be too great for this purpose. The Articles of Shoes, Stockings and Blankets demand the most particular attention, as the expenditure of them from the Operations and Common accidents of War we find to be greater than Articles of any others. I assure you, Sir, it is not easy to give you a just and accurate Idea of the Sufferings of the Troops at large. Were they to be minutely detailed, the relation so unexpected, so contrary to the common opinion of people distant from the Army, would scarcely be thought credible. I fear I shall wound your feelings by telling you that by a Field return on the 23d. Instant, we had in Camp not less than 2898 Men unfit for duty by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked; Besides these, there are many others detained at the Hospitals and in Farmers Houses for the same causes. I will no longer dwell upon the Melancholly subject, being firmly convinced, that your views and most Studious care, will be employed to render the Situation of the Troops, both Officers and privates, comfortable in future. If the Several States direct their attention to this

indispensably essential Object, As I trust they will, I have the most Sanguine hopes, that their Supplies with those immediately imported by Congress themselves, will be equal to every demand. I have the Honor etc.[76]

To ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was a few days ago favored with yours of the 8th instant. I am sorry that any undue promotions Should have disgusted your Brother,[77] but as I do not know the instances to which you allude, I can say nothing to the justice of his pretensions to rank in preference to them. The only dispute that has come to my knowledge, is that between him and Colo. Cortland, and in that I must say Colo Cortland had in my opinion an undoubted right to the precendency, upon principles of strict Justice. And as I have heard nothing more of this Matter for some time, I imagine Colo. Livingston has dropped his claim.

It is impossible to form such a Corps as you mention at this time. The Regiments, small in the beginning of the Campaign and much diminished by service, will not bear a draft without reducing them to mere Companies. I expect a Committee of Congress here in a short time, to confer upon ways and means of new modelling the Army, I shall, among other things, strongly recommend the formation of Corps of Light Infantry, and as your Brother will be upon the spot, he will have an opportunity, if such are formed, of putting in his claim for a Command. I have a high opinion of his Merit, and therefore shall not be forgetful of him. I do not chuse to make an absolute promise at this time, because I know there will be many

[76] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[77] Col. Henry Beekman Livingston.

competitors for such Posts, and I am determined to decide in favor of those, who appear in every view best qualified, and who will give the most general satisfaction. Col. Morgan,[78] Colo. Butler[79] and Major Morris[80] who have so eminently distinguished themselves in the light Corps established this Campaign, will undoubtedly claim a preference, should they incline to continue in that kind of service. I have the honor, etc.[81]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Head Quarters, December 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I receiv'd your favor of yesterday, and immediately sent one of my Aids to represent the Subject of it to the Commissary of Forage and Quartermaster Genl. as far as it related to them; they declare that nothing of the kind has happen'd within their knowledge, but say, they cannot be answerable for the conduct of many of their Deputies as they are not to be depended on, and it is out of their power to put better in their place; however, that they will have the matter inquir'd into, and correct any abuses far as they can, the want of money for some time past has been an unavoidable Evil, which I hope will soon be remedied Mr. Palfrey being ordered to Camp.

General Orders respecting the Camp Regulations you mention have been for the most part Issued, and as soon as the State of our Cloathing will permit I think the Mode of Foraging you mention to be highly desireable.

I wish you not to leave Camp or its Vicinity, untill the Hutts are compleated and some Regulation takes place. I have prevented General Woodford's waiting on Congress, and advised that he and every officer who thinks himself injur'd by his

[78] Col. Daniel Morgan.
[79] Richard Butler.
[80] Maj. Lewis Morris, jr.
[81] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

pretensions, will State his Case in writing and transmit it to Congress, by which means, the advantages frequently resulting from personal interviews and applications will be entirely obviated, and a fair opportunity given to each to have his rank establish'd according to the real merit of his Claim. I am, etc.

P. S. After Sealing this I have broke it, to mention to you that I think it best that the State of pretensions of each should be sent to me in order that I may transmit them together to Congress and as I have no curiosity to see the Contents they may come Seal'd.[82] [H.S.P.]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 16th. instant from the Sawpitts. I am glad to find that matters are not as represented in Colo. Drake's[83] memorial, and my only wish is that the people may be protected, as far as circumstances will permit without detriment to the public cause.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the misfortune that has befallen Colo. Webb[84] and Colo. Eli, and I can only hope that our loss is not greater than had come to your knowledge at the time of writing. I have ever been averse to these small excursions, especially when they divert our attention from more material objects. And as I think more solid advantages will arise from carrying on the works upon the River than now and then attempting the destruction of part of the Enemy's Stores, my wish is that the Troops may be kept steadily to work, except

[82] In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

[83] Col. Samuel Drake, of the New York Militia. He was also a New York commissioner to remove stock beyond the reach of the enemy, and his complaint related to an alleged improper seizure of cattle by Putnam's troops.

[84] Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb, of an Additional Continental regiment, and Col. John Ely, of a Connecticut Militia regiment, had been taken prisoners on an expedition to Long Island on December 10.

such as are necessary to patrole towards the plains and keep small parties from ravaging.

If Genl. Gates should have come down to Fishkill, or if he should not, if Genl. Parsons remains there, I have no objection to your going home for a time, to look after your private affairs.[85]

Before you leave the post, be pleased to make me an exact return of the Strength, distinguishing the Continental particularly from the Militia.

I wish you a happy sight of your remaining family and am etc.[86]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, December 27, 1777.

My Lord: Your Lordships Letter of yesterday arrived late last night; with respect to the proposed Attack upon the detached body of the Enemy, it appears from Major Clarks account of their Situation whom I sent for to consult upon the Subject; that they can be so easily and readily reinforced from the main body as to render any attempt upon them abortive. The business of your inclosed Letter has been in part obviated, by the orders which I had already given relative to it. What you advise respecting a Deputy Commissary to be stationed below shall be put in execution as soon as circumstances will permit; at present neither the principal of the Department nor any of his Deputies make their appearance in camp. I am, etc.[87]

*To COLONEL HENRY E. LUTTERLOH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Sir: As we have more than probably taken a position for the Winter, and every exertion in the different departments should

[85] Putnam's wife had died and he had requested a furlough.
[86] The draft is in the writing af Tench Tilghman.
[87] In the writing of John Laurens.

be made to prepare for the next Campaign. I take this early oppertunity to remind you of the necessity of providing Common Tents, Bell Tents for Arms, Ammunition Waggons, and such other essentials in your Line as you know will be wanted for the use of the Troops next Campaign. A Moments reflection must convince you that the smallest delay will be injurious, as the Season for providing these things is fast advancing, and the difficulty in obtaining them may be great.

If you have not resources within your own Comd. to furnish the two first Articles, you are to apply to the board of War for Instructions; particularly, to know whether the Sail Duck imported, or purchased for the Frigates may not be applied to these useful purposes.

To descend into the Minutiæ of our wants, is unnecessary; the experience of the last Campaign, will be your best informer, and guide.[88] I am etc.

P. S. You ought to know where your resources of Waggons and Drivers are to be had, and no longer depend upon Soldiers for this business.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Parole Castleton. Countersigns Pittsburg, Stanwix.

Mr. Berryman Greene at present Quarter Master is appointed Pay Master, to the first regiment of Light Dragoons, and to be respected as such.

Mr. John Hughes, Quarter Master Serjeant to the 6th. troop, is appointed Quarter Master to the same regiment in the room of Quarter Master Greene, and to be respected as such.

All the troops are to draw and cook provisions for to morrow.

[88] On December 28 Lieut. Col. John Laurens wrote to Lutterloh, by direction of Washington, to collect plank from the mills nearby and repair the new bridge over the Schuylkill. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Notwithstanding the orders repeatedly given, for calling the absent officers to camp, the Commander in Chief is informed, that many are still scattered about the Country, mispending their time, to the prejudice of the service, and injury of those officers who remain and attend their duty in Camp. He therefore directs, that the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades forthwith make a strict inquiry, concerning all the officers absent from their brigades; and such as are absent without leave from proper authority, or having had such leave remain unnecessarily absent, are to be immediately notified to return to camp without delay on pain of being suspended or cashiered.

Each brigade Quarter Master is to make a return, this afternoon, to the D. Q. M. General of the number of officer's huts necessary for their brigades, according to the regulation in General Orders.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, December 28, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

All the troops are to draw and cook provisions for tomorrow.

Two Captains of General Wayne's division are to be detached to aid Lt. Col. Bayard in the business committed to his charge. The Assistant Commissary General (Mr. Chaloner[89]) will inform the captains where Col. Bayard may be found.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Head Quarters, December 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have this Morning received your favour of 26th. Instt. The method you have adopted for preventing the intercourse and Supply of Marketting from the Country, I think is

[89] John Chaloner.

a good one, and I expect will have the intended effect, though I fear it is impossible to put a total stop to it, even by the greatest exertions of the Officers, as there are many Avenues to Town which it will be found difficult to Guard. Congress had information that there was a great Quantity of Flour near the British Lines which I suppose by what you mention to be groundless.

I have, by their desire, issued a Proclamation ordering the Farmers to Thresh out their Wheat and prepare it for Mill, and that in case of Noncompliance within certain Periods, it shall be Siezed upon for the use of the Army and only paid for as Straw.

A number of printed Copies are to be sent from Lancaster, when they arrive I shall forward a proportion to you. When the Wheat is ready, the Commissaries will go thro the Country and pay a generous price for it.

Our want of the Article you mention[90] has been relieved in a temporary manner, but not fixed upon so good a foundation, as to prevent my apprehensions of similar and indeed greater inconveniences happening in the course of this Winter from the same cause.

By the last accounts from below, the British Army remain in the same situation. When they return and things are a little settled here, I shall readily agree to your request of having Genl. Potter with you, and will give him directions accordingly.

I have now to acknowledge your favour of the 23d. instt. by a return Express. The Troops which had marched over the foot Bridge at Matson's ford had returned before I came up, this was occasioned by the Officers not knowing the numbers or situation of the Enemy, and the risque of passing thro so great a defile as lies on this side the River. As soon as I was acquainted with the Circumstance of the Bridge, I ordered them to stop and repair what damage had been done; had we been acquainted with the

[90] Armstrong does not name the article, but it seems probable that it was powder.

strength of the Enemy upon this Occasion, something very advantageous might have been effected. As the meeting, I believe, was very unexpected on both sides, [however] it is always much easier to see where advantages might have been taken, and what ought to be done, when the matter in agitation is passed beyond a possibility of being recalled. I am &ca.[91]

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN[92]

Head Quarters, December 28, 1777.

Sir: As the Season advances in which bad weather and broken Roads will render the transporting provision from any distance, for the most part subject to considerable delay, and sometimes impracticable. It becomes indispensibly necessary to form with all possible expedition ample Magazines for our Winter Supply contiguous to the Rear of the Camp, and to embrace every favourable Opportunity of keeping them furnished. They ought never to have less than thirty days provision in them.

You will likewise extend your views to establishing the necessary Magazines for the next Campaign; with respect to their Situation I can only say in general Terms at present, that they are to be in the most convenient places consistent with security for Subsisting an Army in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

The Deputies in your Department complain of a deficiency of Waggons, the power which you have by virtue of your office of impressing them, if exerted, will certainly remedy this evil. I am &ca.

P. S. Such Articles of provision as can be obtained nearest the Enemy's Lines, ought to be first secured.[93]

[91] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The word in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

[92] Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.

[93] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. Practically this same letter was sent Col. Clement Biddle, Commissary General of Forage of the Continental Army, on the same date as this letter. The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Dear Sir: Major Blackden[94] of Colo. Sheldons Light Dragoons goes to Boston to procure Cloathing and Accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign. As the prices of many articles have risen from there being too great a number of Bidders, I have directed the Major, if there are any persons purchasing for the Continent, not to interfere with them, but to apply to them for such Articles as he may want, and as he has the measures of the Men, he will have the Uniforms made up. There will be several things as Boots, sadlery &ca. for which he must contract himself, to pay for which I desire you will furnish him with money. If the Continental Agents should not have the Articles of Cloathing proper for Major Blackden, he is in that case to procure them on the best terms he can, and you will also be pleased to furnish him with Money for the Amount. We have found so many advantages from Cavalry in the Course of this Campaign, that I am determined to augment them as much as possible against the next, and enable them to take the Field in a respectable manner. I therefore hope you will give Major Blackden your Countenance and every assistance in your power. I am etc.[95] [MS. H. S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday favd. with yours of the 27th. as I was with those of the 22d. and 25th. I imagine the Ships you

[94] Lieut. Col. Samuel Blackden [Blagden], of the Second Continental Dragoons. He had been promoted from major on Apr. 7, 1777; resigned in August, 1779.

[95] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

saw going down, were only empty Transports and Victuallers for which having no use, they think it safer to send them away than let them lay crowded in the docks of Philada. where a single Vessel taking fire might prove destruction of the whole. The Enemy, who were only out upon a great Hay Forage, have returned to Philada. I was apprehensive that they would have paid you a visit, and altho they [we?] were not in a position to make a general attack upon them to advantage, I kept large parties of light troops near them to watch their motions and prevent their stragling into the Country and plundering.

I shall send you down a party of Light Horse as much with a view of refreshing them as any thing else, for while the Enemy remain quiet in Philada. you will not have occasion to keep out a single Vidette. If they at any time cross the Schuylkill, I shall give you notice by Express, and you may then advance a few Horse, some towards Chester and others up the Brandywine to keep a look out at other times I wish they may lay intirely still, and if you have occasion for Expresses hire them from the Country.

Or if you can take seven or eight of the Dover Horse into employ you may do it, they will serve for the purpose of bringing you intelligence from different parts of the Country and carrying dispatches when there is occasion.

I beg you will continue to urge the president of the Delaware State and Genl. Rodney to turn out part of their Militia to your assistance.

I approve of your proposal of setting one of the Mills to work to supply you with Flour and Horse Feed, but you should keep it intirely under your own direction, that no more may be ground than what you and the inhabitants may want.

I will order the Commissary to send you down some salt and liquor if he has any of the latter, and the Waggon shall make

up a load with intrenching Tools. As our stock of liquor is very small, your Commissary had better purchase some, up the Country, for the use of the Men upon fatigue.

Officers, on whom you can depend, should now be sent off to collect all the Straglers of your division and those who may have recovered in the different Hospitals, and you should inform the State of Maryland where you are that what Cloathing they collect for their Troops may be sent to you.

Inclosed you have a Resolve of Congress founded upon information that large quantities of Cattle have been driven down upon the Marshes of Kent upon Delaware which are exposed to the depredations of the Enemy or may be easily conveyed to them. I desire you will, in conjunction with the president of the State, have the fact inquired into, and if it be found true, endeavour to have them removed to a place of Safety, from whence they may be taken by the Commissary, and paid for as the Resolve directs.[96]

If the Weather should continue as severe as it promises, Vessels will not be able to go up to Philada. on account of the Ice, perhaps they may be obliged to put into Reedy Island. If they should and you can procure intelligence of it quickly, you may, by sending down a party and a single field piece make prize of them or oblige them to run down the Bay again. If they pass by you, they may probably not be able to get further up than Chester, where they must lay within the piers to avoid the Ice, and there they may be easily either destroyed or taken. I would have you endeavour to procure people who live at or near the places just mentioned to give you intelligence privately if any Vessels put in, that you may take measures to secure them. I am &ca.[97] [M.L.]

[96] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 15, 1777.
[97] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL JOHN GIBSON[98]

Head Quarters, December 29, 1777.

Sir: Captn. Sullivan[99] has delivered me your Letter of the 5th. Instant, inclosing a return of the Garrison at Fort Pitt, and desiring me to give such directions to Captn. Sullivan as may facilitate the procuring a Supply of Clothing for that part of the 13th. Virginia Regiment which is with you, I am sorry that I can do no more in this business than represent the distress of the Garrison to the Board of War and press them to apply the speediest relief possible. I have for this purpose written them a Letter to be delivered by Captn. Sullivan. I am etc.[1]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Gentlemen: Captain Sullivan, who will deliver this, was bearer of a Letter to me from Colo. Gibson Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt, in which the Garrison is represented as exceedingly distressed for want of Cloathing, and I am solicited, to give such directions as may facilitate the procuring a Supply. I have, in consequence, written to you on the subject and have no doubt, that every thing on your part will be done, as far as circumstances allow, to administer the speediest relief to the unhappy sufferers. I am etc.[1]

CIRCULAR TO THE STATES[2]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Gentn. I take the liberty of transmitting you the inclosed Return, which contains a state of such of the Massachusetts

[98] Of the Sixth Virginia Regiment, then commanding at Fort Pitt.

[99] Capt. James Sullivan, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment.

[1] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[2] This circular is a fair example of some of the peculiar textual difficulties encountered in editing Washington's letters. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is

Regiments, as are in the Army immediately under my command. By this you will discover how deficient, how exceedingly short they are of the compliment of Men, which of right according to the establishment they ought to have. This information, I have thought it my duty to lay before you, that it may have that attention which its importance demands; and in full hope, that the most early and vigorous measures will be adopted, not only to make the Regiments more respectable, but compleat. The expediency and necessity of this procedure are too obvious to need arguments. Should we have a respectable force to Commence an early Campaign with, before the Enemy are reinforced, I trust we shall have an Opportunity of Striking a favorable and an happy stroke; But if we should be obliged to defer it, It will not be easy to describe with any degree of precision what disagreeable consequences may result from It. We may rest assured, that Britain will strain every nerve to send from home and abroad, as early as possible, All the Troops it shall be in her power to raise or procure. Her views and schemes for subjugating these States and bringing them under her despotic Rule will be unceasing and unremitted. Nor should we in my opinion, turn our expectations to, or have the least dependance on the intervention of a Foreign

in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, and in the Washington photostats in the Library of Congress are facsimiles of the circular to New York and the circular to Maryland. No one of these three is exactly like the other two in word arrangement, capitalization, or spelling, while all three are in agreement in ideas and sense. It therefore follows that it is impossible for any one text to absolutely agree with every one of the surviving circulars. The text here printed follows the draft in the *Washington Papers.*

The circular to the Governor of Maryland omits the opening sentence and substitutes instead the following: "Genl. Smallwood will, by this Conveyance, transmit you a Return of Seven of the Maryland Regiments. The eighth, which was composed of part of the German Battalion and part of Rawlins's Regiment, is in the same situation in point of numbers."

The circular was sent to all of the States except Georgia, and in each instance addressed to the executive of the State, except the circular to Massachusetts, which was sent to the council.

War. Our wishes on this head have been disappointed hitherto, and I do not know that we have a right to promise ourselves from any intelligence that has been received, bearing the marks of authority that there is any certain prospect of one. However, be this as it may, our reliance should be wholly on our own strength and exertions. If in addition to these, there should be aid derived from a War between the Enemy and any of the European powers, our situation will be so much the better. If not, our efforts and exertions will have been the more necessary and indespensible. For my own part I should be happy if the Idea of a foreign rupture should be thrown intirely out of our Scale of politics, and that it may have not the least weight in our public measures. No bad effects could flow from it, but on the contrary many of a salutary nature. At the same time I do not mean, that such an Idea ought to be discouraged among the people at large [because the event is possible[2]].

There is one thing more, to which I would take the liberty of solliciting your most serious and constant attention, to wit, the cloathing of your Troops and the procuring of every possible supply in your power for that end. If the several States exert themselves in future, in this Instance, and I trust they will, I hope that the Supplies they will be able to furnish in aid of those which Congress may immediately import themselves will be equal and competent to every demand. If they do not, I fear, I am satisfied the Troops will never be in a situation to answer the public expectation and perform the duties required of them. No pains, no efforts on the part of the States can be too great for this purpose. It is not easy to give you a just and accurate idea of the sufferings of the Army at large and of the

[2] This phrase is in the circular sent to New York.

loss of Men on this Account. Were they to be minutely detailed, your feelings would be wounded, and the relation would probably be not received without a degree of doubt and discredit. We had in Camp on the 23d Instt. by a Field Return then taken, not less than 2898 Men unfit for duty by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked. Besides this number, sufficiently distressing of itself, there are many others detained in Hospitals and crowded in Farmers Houses for the same causes. In a most particular manner I flatter myself the care and attention of the States, will be directed to the Supply of Shoes, Stockings and Blankets, as their expenditures from the common operations and accidents of War is far greater than that of any other Articles. In a word, the United and respective exertions of the States cannot be too great, too vigorous in this interesting work, and we shall never have a fair and just prospect for success, 'till our Troops (Officers and Men) are better provided than they are or have been.

We have taken post here for the Winter, as a place best calculated to cover the Country from the Ravages of the Enemy, and are now busily employed in erecting Huts for the Troops. This circumstance renders it the more Material, that the Supplies should be greater and more immediate than If the Men were in warm comfortable Houses.

The Return transmitted, comprehends only such Troops of your State, as are at this Camp. I imagine all the Regiments stand nearly upon the same footing in point of deficiency and from it, you will be able to form a pretty just estimate of the men that will be necessary to fill the whole.

Before I conclude I would also add, that it will be essential to innoculate the Recruits or Levies, as fast as they are raised, that their earliest services may be had. Should this be postponed, the work will be to do most probably at an interesting and critical

period and when their aid may be very materially wanted. I have the honor etc.[4]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley-Forge, December 29, 1777.

Parole Germantown. Countersigns Concord, Charlestown.

The Commander in Chief earnestly exhorts the officers of every rank to use their utmost exertions to have the huts completed as soon as possible, that the troops may get comfortably lodged.

He also directs a gill of spirits to be served this afternoon to each non-commissioned officer and soldier. And as officers may find it difficult and expensive to procure *spirits* for their own use in camp, he authorises those of each regiment, to depute and send one of their own corps into this, or the neighbouring State, to purchase such spirits, and other articles for their accomodation in camp, as they shall find convenient for their own use only.

The returns which were called for, on the 25th. instant, were intended to pass thro' the hands of the Commander in Chief, to be by him transmitted to the respective states, where the troops were raised; those who have failed making such returns, to the Adjutant General, are to do it immediately.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 30, 1777.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

Great numbers of prisoners are now in the Provost, suffering extremely from the severity of the season. Brigade General Courts Martial are to be appointed for to morrow, and to sit

[4]The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

daily, 'till all the prisoners belonging to the respective brigades are tried.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, December 30, 1777.

Sir: Capt. Jones[5] of Colo. Baylor's Regt. of Light dragoons, has a troop of Men inlisted and accoutrements complete; but not having been able to procure Horses, at the limited price, the Men are yet dismounted.

I am informed, that there are a number of horses at Lancaster and Carlisle, which were purchased for the North Carolina light dragoons; but 'tis said, they have neither proper Arms or Accoutrements, if therefore those Horses could be delivered to Capt. Jones they would immediately render very essential service, for the regiments that have been upon duty the last Campaign, are so reduced, that they can scarcely furnish the necessary patroles for the security of the Camp. I am sending off all the worn down Horses to recruit, and I could therefore wish, that the Board would give orders, that the Horses at Lancaster and Carlisle may be delivered to Capt. Jones, except the North Carolineans, for whom they were intended, are ready to mount and take the Field. I am &c.[6]

To MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY

Head Qurs., December 30, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with your Letter of Yesterday, in which you propose (in order to loose no time) to begin with the instructions of the Troops.[7]

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[5] Capt. Cadwallader Jones, of the Third Continental Dragoons. He served as an aide to Lafayette, 1778–81.

[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[7] Conway was appointed by Congress Inspector General of the Continental Army and promoted to the rank of major general on December 13. His letter of December 29 to Washington recited: "I accepted the office of inspector general with the view of

You will observe by the Resolution of Congress relative to your appointment, that the board of War is to furnish a Sett of Instructions, according to which the Troops are to be Manœuvred. As you have made no mention of having received them, I suppose they are not come to you. When they do, I shall issue any Orders which may be judged necessary to have them carried into immediate Execution.

Your appointment of Inspector General to the Army, I believe has not given the least uneasiness to any Officer in it. By consulting your own feelings upon the appointment of the baron de Kalb you may judge what must be the Sensations of those Brigadiers, who by your Promotion are Superceded.[8] I am told they are determined to Remonstrate against it; for my own part I have nothing to do in the appointment of Genl. Officers, and shall always afford every Countenance and due respect to those appointed by Congress; taking it for granted, that prior to any Resolve of that Nature, they take a dispassionate View, of the merits of the Officer to be promoted, and consider every consequence that can result from such a Procedure; nor have I any other wish on that Head, but that good attentive Officers may be chosen, and no Extraordinary promotion take place, but where

being instrumental to the Welfare of the cause, and to the Glory of the commander in chief in making his troops fitt to execute his orders. The rank of major general which was given me is absolutely requisite for this office in order to be vested with proper authority to superintend the instruction, and the internal administration. there is no inspector in the european armies under a Major general. however sir if my appointment is productive of any inconvenience or any Ways Disagreeable to your excellency, as I neither apply'd nor solicited for this place, I am very readdy to return to france where I have pressing Business; and this I will do with the more satisfaction that I expect even there to be useful to the cause." Conway's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

Conway had applied to Congress for the rank of a major general as early as Sept. 25, 1777, and his letters of October 19 and November 14 to that body were impertinent arguments sustaining his claim to such a promotion. It is quite doubtful that he would have secured this rank and that of Inspector General if the influences in Congress and the Board of War which were antagonistic to Washington had not just then been in the ascendancy.

[8] Conway himself had been a vigorous remonstrant to Congress on Baron De Kalb's appointment, claiming that De Kalb was his inferior in rank in France.

the Merit of the Officer is so generally acknowledged as to Obviate every reasonable cause of Dissatisfaction thereat. I am etc.[9]

To LORD STIRLING

Valley Forge, December 30, 1777.

My Lord: The bearer presents the horse to you which I offered in exchange for your black. In the summer when I first got him, he had the appearance of a fine, and handsome horse; at present (by neglect at Bethlehem) his appearance is altered. He was purchased for me by Col. Moylan as a horse of Six yrs old, and I believe him to be sound, knowing nothing to the contrary. he goes rough equal I believe to your black, and has no

[9] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Conway's reply to this letter (December 31) is characteristic. He outlines what he had intended, spoke largely of preparing and printing a set of regulations, but left these matters in the air, with a warning that Washington had no time to lose. It was a clever shifting of responsibility concealed behind a future claim of unfamiliarity with the English language, which defense he attempted to make later in the matter of his resignation to Congress. "What you are pleased to call an extraordinary promotion is a very plain one. there is nothing extraordinary in it, only that such a place was not thought of Sooner. the General and universal merit, Which you Wish every promoted officer might be endowed with, is a rare gift. We see but few men of merit so generally acknowledged. We know But the great frederick in europe, and the great Washington in this continent. I certainly never was so rash as to pretend to such a prodigious height; neither Do I pretend to any superiority in personal qualities over my Brother Brigadiers for Whom I have much regard. but you, sir, and the great frederick know perfectly well, that this trade is not Learn'd in a few Months. I have served steadily thirty years. that is, before some of my comrades Brigadiers Were Born. therefore I Do not think that it will be found Marvellous and incredible, if I command here a number of men Which falls much short of What I have commanded those many years in an old army.

"however, sir, By the complexion of your Letter, and by the two receptions you have honour'd me with since my arrival, I perceive that I have not the happiness of being agreeable to your excellency, and that I can expect no support in fulfilling the Laborious Duty of an inspector general I Do not mean to give you or any officer in the army the Least uneasiness therefore I am very readdy to return to france and to the army where I hope I will Meet with no frowns. I begg Leave to Wish your Excellency a happy New year and a Glorious Campaign." Conway's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

Col. Ephraim Blaine, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases, informed Lieut. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison (Jan. 18, 1778) that General Conway had publicly said "that the General was not the man people Imagined nor yet the General, and that he was unpardonable for Missing the Many Oppertunities he had over the Enemy." Blaine's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

bad qualities that I know of; however, as I have no oppertunity of sending the black to my home at present, your Lordship may try the other, and judge from the experiment of the eligibility of the swap. In the mean time yours may, or may not, as you choose it, stand in my stable; as I design him for no other purpose than a stud horse for the use of my Mares in Virg'a. I am, etc.[10]

To MAJOR SAMUEL BLAGDEN

Head Quarters, December 30, 1777.

Sir: Being appointed by Colo. Sheldon to procure Cloathing and accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign, you are to repair immediately to Boston as the most probable place of furnishing yourself. Upon your arrival there, you are, thro General Heath (to whom I have written) to apply to the persons purchasing Cloathing for Continental use, for as much as will be Sufficient, and as you have the measures of your Men, have it made up as expeditiously as possible. For the Articles of Boots, Saddlery &ca. you are to contract yourself, and Genl. Heath will furnish you with the Money.

If the Continental Agents should not have the kind of Cloathing necessary and suitable to your purpose, you are to purchase them yourself on the best terms you can, and apply to Genl. Heath for the Amount.

That you may not be imposed upon on the one hand, or tend to raise the prices of Goods on the other, by giving more than is usual, you will apply to the Continental Agents for advice and direction in this Matter.

Altho' I have mentioned Boston as the principal place from whence you may expect to draw your supplies, you are not to

[10] The text is from the *Magazines of American History*, vol. 3, p. 127.

overlook the different Towns in Connecticut, in many of which sadlery especially is to be obtained. You must be so well convinced of the necessity and advantage of being early in the Field, that I need not urge you to exert yourself in procuring the things necessary for that purpose. I am &ca.[11]

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS OF LIGHT DRAGOONS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 30, 1777.

Sir: As you are appointed to retire from the immediate duty of your Regiment, in order to provide accoutrements &ca. to Equip it for the next Campaign. You are to observe that it will be necessary to enter into some agreement with the Officers of the other Regiments of Dragoons who go for the same purpose, that you may not interfere with each other in applications to Tradesmen, or the purchase of any necessaries which may be wanted by you.

In order to this, it will be best to nominate and agree upon the respective Towns in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia in which each of you is to apply and contract for the Articles wanted by you (unless where a Sufficiency of any Article can be manufactured to supply the whole) and as fast as you can procure a quantity which you judge worth sending, you will forward them to such place as the commanding Officer of your Regiment will point out to you.

You will also Endeavour during this Recess, to Enlist as many men as will fill your Regiment, and as the Equippment of Dragoons is very expensive and Desertion should be avoided, you will receive none but Natives of the Country, or Foreigners of approved fidelity in service, or such as can be particularly recommended to you.

[11] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

As soon as the manner of providing Cloathing for your Corps is determined on, you will receive Instructions about it.

When you find it necessary you are to furnish the Commanding Officer of your Regiment with an Account of what Money you want, which shall be forwarded to you.

I shall expect to be frequently inform'd by you of the Progress you make and the prospect you have of compleating the Business on which you are Detach'd.[12]

To COLONEL BENJAMIN FLOWER

Head Quarters, December 30, 1777.

All the Continental Arms that are out of order are to be collected without delay, that they may be repaired and rendered fit for Service as speedily as possible.

Every workman that can possibly be engaged, is to be employed for this purpose, and in proportion as the Repairs are completed the Arms are to be packed in proper Chests, which are to be deposited in places of security.

A sufficient number of Arm Chests are to be provided, in order that the transporting of Arms from place to place may be rendered convenient and safe.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the utmost diligence should be used in laying up an ample Store of Cartridges for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, and making every other necessary provision in your Department.[13]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 31, 1777.

Sir: It being of great importance to prevent the Enemy from Supplies of Forage and Provisions, I must take the liberty of

[12] In the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[13] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

requesting the interposition of your interest and Authority for this purpose, and that the most speedy and Suitable measures may be adopted and pursued either by your direction, or that of the Legislature or Council, for the removal of all that lies within the vicinity of the Jersey shore opposite Philadelphia, or that may be within the reach of the Enemy's foraging parties, except such as may be really essential for the Inhabitants' use. They Should be removed so far back from the Water, that they will not be in danger of falling into the Enemy's hands. The expediency and necessity of the procedure, I am satisfied, will appear at once to you, and I have no doubt as far as it may be in your power it will be carried into execution. It is not unlikely but that some of the Owners, especially if there are any tainted with toryism, will be somewhat averse to the Measure, as it has happened in similar cases; However, I trust means will be found to do away their prejudices, and to convince them of the propriety of it; Indeed if they will reason from their own experience and that of their Neighbours on this Side Delaware, they cannot but assent to it. But be this as it may, it is a matter so important, that it ought not to be dispensed with. The present opportunity, while the weather is severe, and a considerable quantity of ice in the River is favorable for the removal, as the Enemy will not be able to give any interruption. I am not without power and directions from Congress, to act myself in Such instances. But I would wish the business to be done by Civil Authority, as their Acts will create less jealousy and disgust, and be viewed in a much more unexceptionable light.[14]

In a few days, All our Light Horse, except a few that will remain to do duty, will be sent to Trenton to Winter and recruit, It being a place, under all circumstances, the best adapted to that

[14]At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "I shall always be unwilling to exercise my powers out of the line of the Army."

end. Besides recruiting, they will serve to protect the Country from incursions by small parties of the Enemy, and will give security to our Stores and Magazines. In addition to these, when we have secured and fortified our Camp, If circumstances will possibly admit, I will send a few more Troops. I cannot promise that they will be many, The Army being now much reduced by the expiration of the service of several Regiments, and from other causes, equally distressing.

Your Favor of the 25th with its inclosures I received on Sunday Evening. Mr. Boudinot, being apprized of the Situation of Lts. Buskirk and Earle and Surgeon Hammell, I presume will give the necessary directions about them. As to Browne, should he be acquitted, he must be considered as a prisoner of War. Your Sentiments in the close of your Letter to Colo. Seely are certainly just and will not admit an Answer.

I sincerely feel for the unhappy Condition of our Poor Fellows in the Hospitals, and wish my powers to releive them were equal to my inclination. It is but too melancholy a truth, that our Hospital Stores are exceedingly scanty and deficient in every instance, and I fear there is no prospect of their being better shortly. Our difficulties and distresses are certainly great and such as wound the feelings of Humanity. Our sick naked, our well naked, our unfortunate men in captivity naked! You were certainly right in representing the state of Sick, that they may be made more happy if possible. I have ordered a Field Officer to be always, in future, at the Hospitals, and hope they will contribute all in their power to accomodate them and prevent some of the inconveniences which you mention and which are of great moment. As to the Directors, if they do not afford every aid in their power, their conduct is highly culpable and deserves the severest reprehension. I assure you, Sir, I shall ever consider myself much obliged by your information, of any grievances or

abuses respecting the Army, and shall never suppose you step out of your proper line in doing it. We are all equally engaged in the present Important Struggle, and In the cause of Humanity, and are equally concerned in promoting them. I have the honor etc.[15]

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Valley Forge, December 31, 1777.

Sir: By Lt. Colo. Barton, I was honored with your Favor of the 5th Ulto. with its Inclosure. The spirit and disposition of this Gentleman for enterprize and of the Officers concerned with him in capturing Genl. Prescot, give them a high claim to the thanks and esteem of their Country. Congress, persuaded of this, promoted Mr. Barton on the 24th Inst. to the Rank and pay of a Colonel in the Service of the States, and recommended him to me for employment. To their and your recommendations, I would willingly pay the utmost attention, But at present It is impossible for me to introduce Col. Barton into the Army without injuring others and creating disgust, there being now a full and over proportion of Officers, of which he is convinced.

Under these circumstances I would take the liberty to mention, if your State should raise and continue Troops for their own defence, that his past merit, and that of the other Officers, affords favourable grounds to hope, if they can be in command, that their service would be attended with no small benefits. I have the honor etc.[15]

INSTRUCTIONS TO COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, December 31, 1777.

You are to march the body of the Cavalry into Winter Quarters at Trenton, where you are to take the most effectual means

[15] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

for putting both men and horses in condition to act with vigour in the ensuing Campaign. Notwithstanding your distance from the Enemy and the apparent improbability of their forming any Enterprise against you, some degree of vigilance will be necessary to secure your Quarters from Surprise; this may be effected by such small patroles as will not make the Tour of duty come round too frequently, and break in too much upon the Repose of the men and horses, which is so essential to reestablishing them; the same Patroles may likewise be a safeguard to the Shipping laid up at Borden Town.

After you are well settled in Quarters, frequent Opportunities, in favorable Weather, are to be taken of perfecting the Cavalry in the most useful manœuvres, even a Series of bad weather will not prove a total bar to the instruction of the men and horses, as they may at such times, perform the ordinary exercises of the Riding School, a proper house for which purpose you will provide immediately upon your arrival at Trenton. this kind of discipline will not occasion any greater exercise than is conducive to the health of both men and horses.

The men are to keep their Arms in the best Order, and the Sadlers to keep the Saddles and Bridles in constant Repair; if any Regiment be without a Sadler the Commanding Officer of it is to procure one with proper Tools, upon the best Terms he can make.

The Colonels are commissioned to provide their Regiments with Cloathing and Accoutrements. All that can be done with respect to these Articles under your eye, is that the Officers require their men to make the best of what they have, by repairs.

You will have sufficient time for training a Troop of Lancemen, and the Lances may be made according to your directions on the spot. No pains should be spared to inspire the men with an affection for their horses, and make them perfect in the management of them. These important ends can only be gained by

great attention and assiduity in the Officers. You must therefore strictly prohibit all Wandering from Quarters.[16]

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Head Quarters, December 31, 1777.

My Dear Marquis: Your favour of Yesterday[17] conveyed to me fresh proof of that friendship and attachment which I have happily experienced since the first of our acquaintance, and for which I entertain sentiments of the purest affection. It will ever constitute part of my happiness to know that I stand well in your opinion, because I am satisfied that you can have no views to answer by throwing out false colours, and that you possess a Mind too exalted to condescend to dirty Arts and low intrigues to acquire a reputation. Happy, thrice happy, would it have been for this Army and the cause we are embarked in, if the same generous spirit had pervaded all the Actors in it. But one Gentleman, whose Name you have mentioned,[18] had, I am confident, far different views. His ambition and great desire of being puffed off as one of the first Officers of the Age, could only be equalled by the means which he used to obtain them; but finding that I was determined not to go beyond the line of my duty to indulge him in the first, nor, to exceed the strictest

[16] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[17] This letter, dated Dec. 30, 1777, is not now found in the *Washington Papers*. Sparks, however, prints it in vol. 5, p. 488, of his *Writings of Washington*. From this the following is an extract: "When I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw, that Toryism was as apparently professed as Whigism itself. There are open dissensions in Congress; parties who hate one another as much as the common enemy; men who, without knowing any thing about war, undertake to judge you, and to make ridiculous comparisons. They are infatuated with Gates, without thinking of the difference of circumstances, and believe that attacking is the only thing necessary to conquer. These ideas are entertained by some jealous men, and perhaps secret friends of the British government, who want to push you, in a moment of ill humor, to some rash enterprise upon the lines, or against a much stronger army."

[18] Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates.

rules of propriety, to gratify him in the second, he became my inveterate Enemy; and has, I am persuaded, practised every Art to do me an injury, even at the expense of reprobating a measure, which did not succeed, that he himself advised to. How far he may have accomplished his ends, I know not, and, but for considerations of a public Nature, I care not. For it is well known, that neither ambitious, nor lucrative motives led me to accept my present Appointments; in the discharge of which, I have endeavoured to observe one steady and uniform conduct, which I shall invariably pursue, while I have the honour to command, regardless of the Tongue of slander or the powers of detraction.

The fatal tendency of disunion is so obvious, that I have, in earnest terms, exhorted such Officers as have expressed their dissatisfaction at General Conway's promotion, to be cool and dispassionate in their decision upon the matter; and I have hopes that they will not suffer any hasty determination to injure the service. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that Officers' feelings upon these occasions are not to be restrained, although you may controul their Actions.

The other observations contained in your Letter, have too much truth in them, and it is much to be lamented that things are not now as they formerly were; but we must not, in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but Sun shine. I have no doubt but that every thing happens so for the best; that we shall triumph over all our misfortunes, and shall, in the end, be ultimately happy; when, My Dear Marquis, if you will give me your Company in Virginia, we will laugh at our past difficulties and the folly of others; where I will endeavour, by every civility in my power, to shew you how much and how sincerely, I am etc.[19]

[19] The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

[December, 1777.]

Sir: I have received your three Several favours of this day. I have Spoken to the Commissary and forage Master, who have promised to take the proper measures for furnishing you with supplies in their respective Departments.

You will be pleased to send all Captn. Lee's troop that remain behind with the Regiment, to join the detachment now with him, and you will also return immediately to him, whatever men he may send with prisoners, or on any other errand. He is so enterprising and useful an Officer that I should wish him not to be Straitened for the want of Men. I am etc.[20]

*GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COLONELS AND COMMANDING OFFICERS OF REGIMENTS IN THE CONTINENTAL SERVICE

[1777.]

[As War[21]] is a Science, and a great deal of useful knowledge and Instruction to be drawn from Books, you are to cause your Officers to devote some part of their time to reading Military Authors, and see that they are provided with

You will take care to know that all Genl. Orders in which the common Soldiery are to be effected are regularly read to them that they may not be furnished with the Plea of ignorance for disobedience, and you are to take care that all Genl. Orders are strictly observed by the officers and Soldiers of your Regiment, or the Offenders brought to justice

A Regimental Book is to be kept, in wch. Copies of all your Weekly and other returns are to be registered, as also a list of Furloughs given (which are always to be in writing, signed

[20] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[21] The two words in brackets were crossed out by Washington.

by the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, specifying the number of days for which absence is allowed); and other occurrances that reference may, at all times be had to it.

You are to make it an invariable rule to give in a return of your Regiment every Saturday to the Brigadr. or Officer Commanding the Brigade to which you belong. Noting the disposition of it, with the casualties and occurrances which have happened to it in the course of the week; these returns must be carefully examined and signed by yourself; and it is a matter worthy of strict attention that erroneous returns not only marks the negligence of an Officer, but often lays him open to the unfavourable Suspicion of making false returns and that false returns, of any kind, cannot Fail of Involving him in disgrace and punishment.

You are to establish it as an invariable Rule, to lodge, at the end of every Month, the pay abstract of your Regiment with the Brigadr. of the Brigade you belong to, that he, after Inspection thereof, may deposit the same in the Paymaster Generals Office; this custom is not to be dispensed with, altho no money should be drawn. Your Pay abstract is to be made out from the Pay Rolls of each Company which Pay Rolls are to be signed by the Commanding Officers thereof respectively and to contain each Mans name, Rank and pay due; these pay Rolls are to be retained in the hands of your Regimental Paymaster, as vouchers, after you have compared them with the abstracts and subscribd the following certificate.

I do hereby certifie that I have carefully compared this abstract with the Pay Rolls of the respective Companies in my Regiment and find it to be justly made out, and I further certifie, that I have compared the Pay Rolls with the Regimental Returns in the Month of and find that they also agree.

Your Paymaster must not only be an honest Man, in whose hands money may be safely lodged, but he must write a fair hand

and correctly, and understand accts. None will be confirm'd that cannot give ample proofs of these qualification's as in future the Paymaster of a Regiment is to become a kind of Agent to it, and sub-Clothier under direction of the Clothier General to the Army.

You are not to accept the resignation of any Comd. Officer; but upon any vacancy happening by Death, or otherwise, you are to report it in writing, immediately, to the Commander in Chief, and you are expressly forbid nominating as the custom has been, Officers to succeed till you are authorizd so to do, and if pay shall be drawn for any Person so nominated and before he is commission'd or appointed in Genl. orders you will be called to Acct. for it.

Whilst your Regiment is in the Field you are not to give leave to any Officer to be more than 12 Miles from Camp or Quarters; to be absent more than two days, or suffer more than four to be absent at a time without the consent of your Brigadier; nor are you to suffer more than two Men to be absent at a time from a Company and these in extraordinary cases only.

You are to report every desertion to the commanding officer of your Brigade, so soon as it happens, and use every means in your power to have him or them recovered. and you are, after any Ingagement, or Skirmish, to report the number of killed, wounded, and Missing of your Regiment; this is to be done to the Brigr. of the Brigade to wch. you belong as soon as the fact can be ascertaind. at any rate not to exceed days.

Your Officers are to dress Neat, but plain, aiming in all respects to support the Character of Gentlemen, and Men of Honour; a deviation therefrom will be markd with an attentive eye and the Officers incouraged, or discountenanced according to the line of conduct they pursue.

The experience of last Campaign proving beyond a doubt, the Impropriety, both to the public, and to the Individuals

themselves, the disadvantage of carrying much Baggage you will take especial care that no Officer, or Soldier in your regiment is suffered to carry into the Field anything that he can well do without. Even in the article of Cloathing, as few necessaries as possible should be taken. Common House Chairs, great heavy Bedsteads, and such things are absolutely forbid and the Officer attempting to carry them will not only subject himself to the charge of disobedience but may rest assured of loosing them.

As nothing adds more to the look of a Soldier, and nothing can contribute more to his health than cleanliness of person and wholesome Diet you are to be particularly attentive to both these, making it a part of the Officers Regimental Duty to superintend these matters.

Your Surgeon and mate, are to undergo proper examination by such Persons as the Director Genl. of the Hospital in the Department you are in, shall appoint, before they can be confirmd; you would do well therefore to be circumspect in your choice as certificates of the qualifications of these Gentn. must accompany the application for Commissions or Warrnts and their appointment is to be attended with a strict discharge of duty that the evils so loudly, and I believe so justly complaind of last Campaign may be avoided, one sure means of doing which will be to visit the Sick of your Regiment often yourself and to make it A duty for all your Officers to do this by rotation, from which two good consequences will flow, first, those that are really sick will be properly attended to, and the lazy and idle, who lay up to avoid duty, will be detected and punished.

The practice which unhappily prevaild. but too much in the course of the last Campaign (from such a medley of Troops, and Instability of the Services) of siezing Horses, and plundering the Inhabitants under pretence of their being Tories must now be totally and absolutely abolished; or the authors, if Officers, will

assuredly be cashierd if non commissioned or Privates, of meeting with the most exemplar punishment. Such practices being destructive to all good order; ruinous to Individuals, and a disgrace to all Armies, much more to one which is raised for the express purpose of preserving American liberty and property.

Let Vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your Regiment; and see, as a Chaplain is allowed to it, that the Men regularly attend divine Worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbid as the foundation of evil, and the ruin of many a brave, and good Officer. Games of exercise, for amusement, may be not only allowed of, but Incouraged

These Instructions till countermanded or altered by Genl. or special orders you are to consider as binding upon you and all those who are comprehended in them.

You are to take especial care by Issuing the strictest Orders, and as far as possible by seeing to the execution of them, that no Arms, Drum or Packs are suffered to be put into any Waggon or Cart upon a March unless it be such as belong to Sick, or lame Men unable to carry them. and in this case it is not to be done without your consent or the consent of the Senior Officer of your Regiment, then Present, who is to judge of the propriety of it, and see that the Muskt. or Drum is so placed as to receive no Injury. any Drummer or Soldier who presumes to dispense with this Rule to be immediately punished.

Particular care is to be taken to prevent a number of women from following your Regiment, as they[22]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 1, 1778.

Parole Ulster. Countersigns Salem, Amboy.

As this day begins the new year The General orders a gill of spirits to be Served to each non-commission'd Officer and

[22] Unfinished.

soldier; And to avoid the irregular and partial distribution of this Article (which has been a good deal complaind of) he expressly orders that no Spirits shall issue to any part of the Troops in future but in Consequence of general or special orders from Head Quarters. A deviation from this rule will be at the risque and peril of the Issuing Commissary.

The Commanding Officer of each Regiment is to give in a Return at orderly time tomorrow of the number of Tailors in the Regiment he commands; and no new Cloathing to be made for the use of any Regiment but by a pattern which will be furnished them.

A considerable number of Froes[23] and some Axes, are ready to be issued at the Quarter Master General's Stores.

Colo. Cook[24] is appointed President of the Court Martial which Sits daily at the Bake-House;[25] to relieve Colo. Scammell.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 1, 1778.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your several favors of the 23d, 24th and 25th Ulto. with the several inclosures to which they allude.[26]

In my letters of the 22d and 23d of last month I mentioned the difficulties which the service laboured under for want of a Qr. Master General, and as I am induced to believe that a

[23] Frow, a kind of cleaving knife in which the blade was set at right angles to the handle.

[24] Col. William Cooke(?), of the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[25] The bakehouse is thought to have been on the site of the present inn at Valley Forge.

[26] At this point in the draft the following has been crossed out: "I must beg the particular and immediate attention of Congress to a matter of the utmost importance to the Army, and which I fear has been too long delayed. I mean the appointment of a Quarter Master General. Since General Mifflin's indisposition obliged him to quit the field in July last I have experienced the greatest difficulties and inconveniences for want of a person of activity and authority at the head of that department. Upon General Mifflin's resignation, and I can only account for its not having been filled up since his resignation and indeed to believe that."

new nomination has not been made since General Mifflin's resignation, because Congress could not fix upon any person in their opinions, fully qualified to fill that important Office, I thought it my duty to endeavour to find out a Gentleman who I could venture to recommend either from my own particular knowledge or from that of others. That my enquiries might be more extensive, I occasionally mentioned the Matter to the General and Field Officers and desired them, if any person came within their Idea as proper, that they would mention him to me, that I might upon their comparative Merits, fix upon the most deserving.

Several of the Officers from the Northward spoke of the uncommon activity and exertions of Colo. Hay D. Qr. Mr. Genl. in that department. Hearing him so well spoken of I enquired very particularly of most of those who had Served there the last Campaign and of General Sullivan and General Wayne who had served in that Country the two preceeding ones in times of uncommon difficulty. They confirmed the favorable reports of the others and went as far as to say, that without disparagement to any Gentleman, they thought him the best qualified of any Man upon the Continent for the Office in Question. Upon this universal concurrence of all parties, I think I may Venture to recommend Colo. Hay to the consideration of Congress and if upon further inquiry they should find him answer the high Character which he bears, I hope no time may be lost in appointing him, provided some other has not already been the object of their Choice. I will just add, that Colo. Hay's pretensions, in right of Seniority, entitles him to notice.

You must be fully Sensible, that very little time is left between this and the opening of the next Campaign for the provision of Field equipage, Carriages, Horses and many other Articles essentially necessary, towards which I cannot find that any steps have yet been taken.

In my last I also took occasion to mention, that by Colo. Pickering's appointment to the Board of War, I expected he would soon be called upon to take his Seat. In a letter from the Secretary of the 24th Ulto., I am desired to permit him to retire and nominate an Adjutant General pro tempore. But as there is no person on the spot that I can with propriety ask to accept of the place pro tempore, I am obliged to detain him, and am under the necessity, for that reason, of urging a new appointment as speedily as possible. I have taken the same methods of endeavouring to find out a person qualified for an Adjutant General that I did for that of Qr. Mr. General. But I can not say that I have recd. any account sufficiently satisfactory to determine me in favor of any particular person. I will just recite the Names that have been mentioned to me, which are Colos. Lee and Scammell of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Colos. Innis and Davies of Virginia and Major Scull of Pennsylvania. The four first are well known to many Gentlemen of Congress and Major Scull is warmly recommended by Genl. St. Clair.

The Enemy returned into Philadelphia on Sunday last, having made a considerable Hay forage, which appeared to be there only intention. As they kept themselves in close order and in such a position that no attack could be made upon them to advantage, I could do no more than extend light parties along their front and keep them from plundering the inhabitants and carrying off Cattle and Horses, which had the desired effect.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that a Vessel has fallen into Genl. Smallwood's hands near Wilmington, I hope she will prove a valuable prize. You have the particulars in the inclosed extract of his Letter.[27]

[27] The captures were a slooper with flour, pork, poultry, and other supplies, and an armed brig named *Symetry,* which ran aground and surrendered after a couple of shots were fired into her from a fieldpiece. She had on board clothing for four British regiments, over 1,000 stand of arms, ammunition, pork, butter, and a great deal of baggage of British officers. Smallwood's letter, dated Dec. 30, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers,* in the Library of Congress.

Before this reaches you, you will have recd. a letter from General Weedon in which he has stated his objections to Genl. Woodford's taking Rank of him. Genl. Muhlenberg is gone to Virginia. I cannot therefore say what would have been his objections, but I imagine they are founded upon the same Reasons as those of Genl. Weedon's and you may percieve by the inclosed Copy of Genl Wayne's letter to me that he does not think that the rank of Colonel which Genl Woodford held at the time of his Resignation could operate in his favor upon his appointment to the rank of Brigadier Genl.; I could therefore wish that Congress, as they now have the matter fully before them would proceed to the final settlement of the relative Rank of the Brigadiers. I am &ca.[28]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT ALBANY, NEW YORK

Head Quarters, January 1, 1778.

Sir: I have been informed that a number of broad swords and other Horse accoutrements taken in the course of the last Campaign are deposited at Albany; if this be the case you are to deliver those Articles to Colo. Sheldon or his order, for the use of the Brigade of Light Dragoons. I am, etc.[29]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, January 1, 1778.

Sir: By this Express from General Armstrong, he informs me he is of opinion that 1000 Militia, regularly reliev'd, may be equal to effect the necessary duty on the North side of Schuylkill; he also mentions that he writes you to this purpose, and requests my sentiments thereon.

[28] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[29] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Arrangement of the Army for the Campaign 1778 — present state of the Battalions
the 1st day of Jan. 1778

Major Gen.	Brigades	Regiments	Names of the Colonels	Rank	Strength of the Regiments	Strength of the Brigades	Strength of the Wings	Major Gen.	Brigades	Regiments	Names of the Colonels	Rank	Strength of the Regiments	Strength of the Brigades	Strength of the Wings
Marq. de la Fayette	Maxwell's Brig.	5	Lindsay	Lt. Col.	187			Lord Stirling	Lower		Shepherd	Maj.	377		
		5	Dr. Parker	Dito	218						Hazlewood	Dito	391		
		9	Malcom	Do	[illegible]						Dayton	Do	383		
		13	Russell	Do	330	655					Spencer	Do	358	1509	
	Woodford's Brig.	3		Do	285				Patterson's Brig.		Barnett	Do	302		
		7	Mr. Stephens	Do	411						Brewer	Do	315		
		11	Morgan	Do	295						Bradford	Do	305		
		15	Mason	Do	274	1270					Ogden	Do	307	1328	
	Scott's Brig.	2		Do	252				Learned's Brig.		Bailey	Do	397		
		8	Beaumont	Do	165						Poor	Do	365		
		12	Wood	Do	250						Nixon	Do	308		
			Gibson State	Do	344	1151	3086				Larkin	16			
Baron Kalb	Weedon's Brig.	2	Tilghman	Do	354				Conway's Brig.		Cammell	Do	378		
		6		Do	200						Gill	Do	279		
		10	Stephens	Do	401						Ford	Do	316		
		12	Lewis	Do	245	1210					Lee	16			
	Smallwood's Brig.	1	Stone	Maj.	215			Mr. Lovejoy's Brig.			Scott	Maj.	216		
		3	Scott	Do	322						Lyle	Do	275		
		6	Williams	Do	186						Herbert	16			
		7	Richardson	Do	198	924					Greene	16			
		2	Price	Do	222				Huntington's Brig.		Drake	Col.	489		
		4	Hall	Do	268						Webb	Do	361		
		5	Nixon	Do	266						Bradley	Do	422		
			German Bt.		287	1043	3186				Swift	Do	474	1686	
St. Clair	Wayne's Brig.	1	Chambers	Maj.	349				Warnick's Brig.	3	Preston	Col.	316		
		2	Becker	Do	110					4	Martin	Do	252		
		7	Brewer	Do	200					2	Shreve	Do	226		
		10	Hazlet	Do	216	875				1	Ogden	Do	227	915	
		3	Crump	Do	171				Mr. Larrey's	1	Carolina	Col.			
		5	Maxwell	Do	165					2	Do	Do	1079		
		9	Butler	Do	190						Hazen		213		
		11	Hampton	Do	159	685					Holt		220	1712	
		4	Cadwallader	Do	149						Malcolm	16	182		
		5	Johnson	Do	283						Spurlin	16	228		
		8	Broadhead	Do	355						Swift	16	234		
		2		Do	268	935	2555				Lewis	16	300	944	
Arnold	2 Brigades	4	Lt. Col. Forest												
4	8			3	36	4	8827								

Arrangement of the Army for the Campaign of 1778, January 1, 1778

As it has been my constant desire and study to conduct things in such a manner as may be attended with the smallest expence and inconveniences to the people I readily concur in this measure, and expect it may answer, as 2000 could not prevent the Enemy from coming out in force, and 1000 may be a Sufficient check to small parties, and answer all the purposes of preventing an Intercourse between the City and Country.

I think it will be absolutely necessary to furnish the light Horse the General speaks of, As I shall be obliged to send those belonging to the Army into quarters, in order to put them in a condition to be fit to render any essential Service the approaching Campaign; from the present appearance of matters I hope I shall not be obliged to call for any assistance of Militia to do duty on this side Schuylkill this Winter; or if I do, that the number will not exceed 2 or 300. I am, &c.[30]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, January 2, 1778.

Parole Southampton. Countersigns Bristol, Burlington.

The Commander in Chief, to prevent unnecessary Applications for Furloughs informs the Officers that none will be granted by him unless the Officers who apply for the Same produce Certificates from the Major Generals of the Divisions to which they belong, that the State of their Regiments will admit of their absence from Camp.

And it is expected that the Major Generals previous to their giving Such Certificates will duly inform themselves of the

[30] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

On January 1 Lieut. Col. Richard Kidder Meade wrote to Maj. John Jameson, of the First Continental Dragoons, ordering him, by Washington's direction, to stop all intercourse between the country and Philadelphia and to be particularly alert to send word of any movement of the British toward Valley Forge. The expense of the dragoons and the matter of their rations was also touched upon. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

State of the Regiment and whether the Furloughs requested may be granted without Injury to the Service. And in determining this they will consider how very expedient it is that Officers remain in Camp (where Strong necessity does not demand their Absence) to improve themselves and their Corps in Such a regular System of discipline as may be prescribed and which the quiet and leisure of a fixed Camp will afford them Opportunity to practice.

All the Cartridges in the men's hands are to be collected forthwith and delivered to the Regimental Quartr. Masters except those which are regularly placed in their Cartridge boxes, which are to be completely filled.

The Regimental Quartr Masters are to deliver all these Spare Cartridges to the Persons appointed by the Major Generals of the respective divisions to receive them, and the Major Generals are desired without delay to appoint proper Persons for that purpose, who are to apply to the Commissary of military Stores for paper and cause all the good Cartridges to be carefully packed in Bundles and the damaged ones to be returned to the Commissary. The Brigadiers and Officers commanding independent Brigades are to make the like Appointments for their Brigades.

Every monday morning the Surgeons of Regiments are to make returns to the Surgeon General or in his absence to one of the Senior Surgeons present in Camp of all the Sick in Camp or otherwise under the immediate Care of the Regimental Surgeons, Specifying the men's names, companies, Regiments and Diseases.

Adjutant Marvin[31] is appointed Brigade Major pro tempore to General Varnum's Brigade and is to be respected as Such.

[31] Elihu Marvin, adjutant of the Fourth Connecticut Regiment.

Colo. Swift[32] is appointed President of the General Court-Martial to Sit tomorrow morning at the Bake-House in the room of Colo. Cook who is absent.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, January 2, 1778.

Sir: I take the liberty of transmitting you the Inclosed Copies of a Letter, from me to Genl. Conway, since his return from York to Camp, and Two Letters from him to me, which you will be pleased to lay before Congress. I shall not in this Letter animadvert upon them, but after making a single observation submit the whole to Congress.

If General Conway means, by cool receptions mentioned in the last paragraph of his Letter of the 31st Ulto., that I did not receive him in the language of a warm and cordial Friend, I readily confess the charge. I did not, nor shall I ever, till I am capable of the arts of dissimulation. These I despise, and my feelings will not permit me to make professions of friendship to the man I deem my Enemy, and whose system of conduct forbids it. At the same time, Truth authorizes me to say, that he was received and treated with proper respect to his Official character, and that he has had no cause to justify the assertion, that he could not expect any support for fulfilling the duties of his Appointment. I have the honor, etc.

P.S. The Inclosed Extract from the proceedings of a Council of Genl. Officers will shew, the Office of Inspector Genl. was a matter not of such modern date as Genl. Conway mentions it to be, and that it was one of the Regulations in view for the reform of the Army.[33] The Foreign Officers who had Commissions and

[32] Col. Heman Swift, of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment.
[33] See Washington's letter to the Council of War, Oct. 29, 1777, *ante*.

no Commands and who were of ability, were intended to be recommended to execute it; particularly the Baron D'Arendt with whom the Idea originated, and whose capacity seemed to be well admitted.[34]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 2, 1778.

Sir: I take the liberty of introducing Major John Clark, the Bearer of this, to your notice. He entered the Service at the commencement of the War and has for some time past acted as Aid de Camp to Major Genl Greene. He is active, sensible and enterprising and has rendered me very great assistance since the army has been in Pennsylvania by procuring me constant and certain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the Enemy. It is somewhat uncertain whether the State of the Major's health will admit of his remaining in the military line, if it should, I may perhaps have occasion to recommend him in a more particular manner to the favor of Congress at a future time. At present I can assure you that if you should, while he remains in the neighbourhood of York, have any occasion for his Services, you will find him not only willing, but very capable of executing any of your Commands. I am etc.[35]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 2–3, 1778.

Gentn.: Your Several Letters of the 23rd. 24th and 27th Ulto. have been received.

Agreeable to your request I shall communicate to General Howe the information you have received respecting Capt.

[34] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read in Congress on January 7 and referred to the Board of War.

[35] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Dick[36] and the other American Officers, with your determination to retaliate on an equal number of their Officers, till Capt. Dick &c. are relieved from their cruel and unjustifiable treatment.[37]

It would be a happy circumstance, if the Cloathing from Virginia was made up, that it might be delivered to the Troops from thence. I believe there will be little, nay none for any other part of the Army, after they are supplied, supposing such to be the wish of the State. Their views do not extend only to such of their Soldiery as are now in Camp, but to their Men in Hospitals and the recruits or drafts who will join hereafter; And I am satisfied, should any of it be appropriated to the use of others and their own troops want, there will be disgust and dissatisfaction. From the Letters I have received upon the Subject, it is particularly mentioned that the supplies which the states procures, are intended for their own Men and this is agreeable to the Idea entertain'd by the other States. The Connecticut Troops now here, have received from thence more necessaries of an essential nature than their present wants require and these are kept for their future demands. As to Blankets, I really do not know what will be done. Our situation in this instance is peculiarly distressing. I suppose that not less than from 3 to 4000 are now wanted in Camp, Our Sick want, Our unfortunate men in captivity want. I gave Doctor Shippen an order some time ago for 400, said to be coming from the Eastward; whether they have been received or not, I cannot tell. To relieve in one quarter, is to distress in another, and I do not see that any of those sent from Virginia, can be possibly spared from the Troops here.

I have written to Genl Smallwood, who is posted at Wilmington, respecting the Cattle said to be driven to the Marshes

[36] Captain Dick seems to have been a sea captain.
[37] See Washington's letter to Sir William Howe, Jan. 8, 1778, *post*.

in Kent County, and given him direction to inquire into the fact and if found true, to pursue proper measures for their removal and security, [which, in a Letter just received from him, he has promised to do.][38]

I hoped before this Congress would have fixed upon a proper person for the Office of Adjutant General. Till it is done, I do not know how it will be possible to spare Colo. Pickering. I addressed them yesterday upon the subject.

Whether the Men from the Eastward, drafted for a short term of Service, have received Cloathing is a matter I am not able to determine. I do not apprehend that they have drawn much since they joined this Army; Because the supplies in the Cloathier's hands would not admit of it; nor do I know certainly whether they have had any. As far as it is in my power I shall attend to the prohibition, tho' the observance of it will be found easier in Speculation than in practice.

I have given directions to the Commissary and Qr. Master about the Flour and Bread at Elk and hope measures will be pursued, that they will be with the Army or in the vicinity of it by the time they are wanted.

The Army being much reduced by Sickness, by the expiration of the time of service of Several of the Troops, by Detachments and other Causes, I cannot think it safe to weaken it more, and therefore cannot comply with the requisition for sending Taylors to Lancaster. However, that the Supplies of Cloathing may be forwarded, I have directed a return to be made of all the Taylors and they will be set to Work either in Camp or at some place Contiguous to it, as soon as Cloth and other materials arrive.[39]

[38] The words within the brackets have been inserted by Washington.

[39] At this point in the draft the following is crossed out: "The service and interest of my Country, I have much at heart, and no Man has laboured with more unwearied assiduity to promote these than I have in the present Contest. This I shall continue to do as far as it may be in my power; But I fear the Board's expectations will never be answered in the instance in which they have so particularly recommended my

January 3.

Your favors of the 28th and 30th Ulto. came to hand this Morning. In compliance with the Board's request, I have ordered Colo. Heartley's Regiment to march to York, and in turn shall expect as soon as possible the Detachment of Men, which you mention. This measure at the same time, does not appear to me very adviseable, The Army, as I have observed before, being greatly reduced and weakened by the term of service of several Regiments being expired and from other causes. It is daily diminishing. On the 31st day of Decr. the Inlistments of near 300 of Colo Stewart's Regiment ended and they are all gone. Our condition in point of force is far from being the most eligible or respectable, and in case the Enemy should make a General push, would be hazardous.

I shall use every exertion, that may be expedient and practicable, for subsisting the Army and keeping it together; But I must observe, that, this never can be done by coercive means. Supplying of Provisions and Cloathing must be had in another way, or it cannot exist. The small seizures, that were made of the former, some days ago, in consequence of the most pressing and urgent necessity, when the alternative was to do that or dissolve, excited the greatest alarm and uneasiness imaginable even among some of our best and Warmest Friends. Such procedures may relieve for an Instant, but eventually will prove of the most pernicious consequences, besides spreading disaffection and jealousy in the people, they never fail even in the most veteran Armies, under the most rigid and exact discipline,

co-operation and Countenance; I mean in the case of General Conway. His appointment to the office of Inspector General, I believe, would have caused no uneasiness; But his promotion to the rank of Major General has given much. My exertions to co-operate with him, or any other Officer to establish discipline shall always be employed; but my feelings and opinion of him will never permit me, without the grossest dissimulation which I abhor and despise, to countenance the man as my Friend, whom I know to be my Enemy, and who has been using every base and insidious art to injure me."

to raise in the Soldiery a disposition to licentiousness, plunder, and Robbery, which has ever been found, exceedingly difficult to suppress and which has not only proved ruinous to the Inhabitants, but in many instances to Armies themselves.

I have communicated to the Army the Matters directed in the resolutions of the 29th. Ulto.[40] I have the honor, etc.[41]

To COLONEL JAMES INNIS

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: The Continental Forces from Virginia being at present in a Situation, that requires the exertion of some Officer in that State, to collect together the reinlisted Soldiers of the old Regiments, as well as the recruits and Draughts intended to complete those and the Six additional Battalions, you are, while in Virginia, in aid to any Superior Officer who may be there with Instructions to pay particular attention to the recruiting Officers and those who returned with the reinlisted Soldiers. Hold frequent corrispondence with them, and give them such Instructions from time to time as the Interest of the Service may appear to you to require. You will endeavour to inform yourself of the nature of the Draught Act, and the particular mode pointed out by it to complete the 15 Regiments. Assemble as many of the Draughts as possible and expedite their march to Camp under proper Officers. If it be by any means practicable get the Soldiers Clothed, in the Uniforms of their respective Regiments, particularly use your every effort with the proper persons, to provide each man with a good Blanket, and Shoes.

A particular Resolve of Congress was passed some time since, recommending to the different States, that proper Officers

[40] Should be 30th. (See General Orders, Jan. 3, 1778, *post*.)
[41] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

should be appointed in each, for the purpose, not only of recruiting men, but, apprehending Deserters; to the latter, I must urge your most active exertions, and if it has not already been done, that you will order proper Officers on that duty, without loss of time, to collect such as may not voluntarily have come in, or otherwise be secured. Your own knowledge of this matter will at once strike you with the necessity of paying the utmost attention to it, and relying on your activity with the aid of others, shall rest Satisfied, that some effectual step will be taken.

If any thing material is done by you, in consequence of these Instructions, I shall expect to hear from you.[42]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM BRENT[43]

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: You are to proceed to Williamsburg as expeditiously as you possibly can. You will apply to His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable the Council and take their advice on the most speedy mode for apprehending the Deserters from the Regiment to which you belong, A return of which you have with you. You will also apply for the residue of the men to Complete the Regiment previous to It's march from Williamsburg. Regulate the Instructions you may give to the Officers of your Corps in Virginia by the Directions you may receive from His Excellency the Governor.

Visit the Sick left by the Regiment at George Town, York and Lancaster, and send such of them as are fit for duty to the Regiment. You will make frequent reports to Colo. Gibson, or the Commanding Officer of your Regiment of what you have done and what there is a probability of your being able to effect.[44]

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[42] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[43] Of the First Virginia State Regiment. He was colonel of the Second Virginia State Regiment from May, 1778, to February, 1781.

[44] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To CAPTAIN DAVID HOPKINS[45]

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: Being appointed by Colo. Moylan to procure Clothing and Accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign, you are to repair immediately to Boston as the most probable place of furnishing yourself. Upon your arrival, you will see Major Blackden, who has similar Instructions with these; with him you will determine on your manner of proceeding on this business, that you may not by any means interfere with each other. In order that you may effect the purport of your errand there the better; I have written a Letter to Genl. Heath, through whom you are to apply to the persons purchasing Clothing for Continental use, and of them you will receive the necessary quantity. Which done, you will either forward the Articles in the State you receive them, or have them made up as you see proper, and most for the benefit of the Regiment.

The Articles of Boots, Sadlery &ca. you are to contract for yourself, and Genl. Heath will furnish you with the money.

If the Continental Agent, should not have the kind of Clothing necessary and suitable to your purpose, you are to purchase them yourself, on the best terms you can, and apply to Genl. Heath for the amount.

That you may not be imposed upon on the one hand, or tend to raise the prices of goods on the other, by giving more than is usual, you will apply to the Continental Agents for advice and direction in this matter.

Altho I have mentioned Boston as the principal place from whence you may expect to draw your supplies, you are not to overlook the different Towns in Connecticut, in many of which Sadlery especially is to be obtained.

[45] Of the Fourth Continental Dragoons. He was a major in the First Continental Dragoons in 1780; served to close of the war.

You must be so well convinced of the necessity and advantage of being early in the Field, that I need not urge you to exert yourself in procuring the things necessary for that purpose. I am, &ca.[46]

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Copy of a Letter from Genl. Varnum to me, upon the means which might be adopted for completing the Rhode Island Troops to their full proportion in the Continental Army. I have nothing to say, in addition to what I wrote the 29th of last Month on this important subject, but to desire that you will give the Officers employed in this business all the assistance in your power. I am, etc.[47]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: Captain Hopkins of Colonel Moylans Light Dragoons goes to Boston to procure Cloathing and accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign. As the prices of many articles have risen from there being too great a number of Bidders, I have directed the Captain, if there are any Persons Purchasing for the Continent not to interfere with them, but, to apply to them for such articles as he may want; I have also directed him particularly in his Instructions, to see Major Blackden (who has similar orders) and fix on a line for their proceedings, that they may not raise difficulties to each other. The Captain will send the articles that he may get, either made, or not, as he finds most advantageous to the Regiment. There

[46] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[47] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

will be several things, as Boots, Sadlery, &c. for which he must contract himself, to Pay for which, I desire you will furnish him with money. If the Continental Agents should not have the Articles of Cloathing proper for Captain Hopkins, he is in that case to procure them on the best terms he can, and you will also be pleased to furnish him with money for the amount. We have found so many advantages from Cavalry, in the course of this Campaign, that I am determined to augment them as much as possible against the next, and enable them to take the Field in a respectable manner. I therefore hope you will give Capt. Hopkins, your countenance, and every assistance in your Power. I am, etc.[48] [MS.H.S.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters at the V. Forge, January 3, 1778.

Parole Westfield. Countersigns Wilmington, Newcastle.

At a General Court Martial held 28th. ultimo whereof Colo. Scammell was President, Captn. Courtney[49] of the Artillery appeared before the Court charg'd with "leaving his Howitz in the Field in the Action of Brandywine in a cowardly and unofficerlike manner." The Court having considered the Charge and Evidence are of Opinion that Captn. Courtney is guilty of the charge exhibited against him and do sentence him (as he has ever supported the Character of a brave man) to be reprimanded by Genl. Knox in the Presence of all the Artillery Officers. The Commander in Chief is induced from the State of the Evidence to disapprove the Sentence; and orders Captain Courtney to be discharged of his arrest without Censure.

The Commander in Chief approves the following sentences of the same General Court-Martial held 29th. ultimo.

[48] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[49] Capt. Hercules(?) Courtney (Courtnay), of the Fourth Continental Artillery. (See General Orders, Mar. 3, 1778, *post*.)

Ensign Carpenter[50] charged with "Absenting himself without leave from Camp knowing that the Regiment was immediately to go to Action," is found guilty and sentenc'd to be cashiered: The sentence is to be executed forthwith.

John McClure charged with "Suttling in Camp contrary to general orders" pleads guilty. The Court are of Opinion that his sufferings in the provost have sufficiently punished him for his Crime and do direct that he be discharged from thence.

The Honorable The Continental Congress have, Resolved, That the Commander in Chief be directed to inform and he does hereby inform the brave Officers and Soldiers of the Continental Army now in Camp that as the situation of the Enemy has rendered it necessary for the Army to take Post in a part of the Country not provided with houses and in consequence thereof to reside in hutts, Congress approving of their soldierly Patience, Fidelity and Zeal in the Cause of their Country direct one months extraordinary Pay to be given to each; and that Congress are exerting themselves to remedy the Inconveniencies which the Army has lately experienced from the defects of the Commissary and Cloathiers' Departments.

That after the first day of January instant the Commissary Genl. of Purchases is from time to time to compute the Cost of each part of a Ration agreeable to the Prime Cost of the Several Articles composing the same; and by this estimate the Issuing Commissaries are to govern themselves, instead of that made in 38th. Article of the Commissary's Regulation passed by Congress 10th. of June last. And further that the General should recommend and he does strongly recommend to the Officers of the Army to draw such a part of their rations only as may be necessary for their respective subsistence; and to receive the residue in money at the estimated Cost aforesaid, until

[50] Ensign Samuel Carpenter, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment.

the difficulties arising from the present deficiency in the Commissary's department shall be removed.

The Second Brigade of Lord Stirling's division have Permission to discharge their Arms tomorrow morning at Roll-Call.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been regularly favoured with yours of the 28th. and 30th. of December, and of the 1st. instant. I congratulate you upon the prize that has fallen into your hands, and the more so as she turns out more valuable than you at first expected. That her Cargo may be removed and secured with all possible expedition, I have sent Colo. Biddle[51] to assist you, he will take down with him all the Waggons that can be spared from the Camp and will impress all that he can find upon the Road. Your first object should be to get them from the Water side, some short distance into the Country, from whence they may be removed back, more at leisure. You and Colo. Biddle may settle that matter. The prisoners may as well be sent first to Lancaster, from whence Mr. Boudinot the Commissary will order them to such place as he thinks proper. The Women had better be allowed to go to Philadelphia when you have got all matters secured. I suppose they have got Husbands there.

I approve of your plan of bartering Hides for dressed Leather and having it worked up into Shoes. The Rate at which the Commy. of Hides disposes of them is 5 lb. Raw Hide for 1 lb. tanned Leather. When you send Officers to collect your straglers they should be particularly careful to bring down the tradesmen. No more well Men need be left at any of the Hospitals than are sufficient to tend your own sick, and if any of them have got employed in any other way, it is without my orders, and your Officers have my allowance to bring them to their Regiments.

[51] Col. Clement Biddle.

Inclosed you have a Copy of the Resolve of Congress for trying by a Court Martial any persons taken carrying supplies to the Enemy. If any of those who have fallen into your hands, are in your opinion proper objects, you will deal with them as the Resolve directs.

Colo. Biddle carries down with him some of the proclamations calling upon all persons within 70 Miles of the Army to thresh out their Grain in limited times under certain penalties. Be pleased to have some of them set up in the most public places.

I am obliged to you for your promise of the prize Wine. I do not imagine you will find more liquor on Board than will be sufficient for your little Garrison; but if the Quantity should be any thing considerable, you must not be forgetful of the poor fellows who are exposed to the severity of the Weather in very indifferent Houses, indeed many of them are not yet under Cover.

I have advanced the paymasters of two of the Maryland Regiments Money on account of the pay due to them. This I have done because I think Soldiers should not suffer on account of the irregularity of their Officers. But I must tell you that there are no Pay Rolls in the whole Army so little attended to as those of Maryland, and I most earnestly wish that you would endeavour to oblige both Paymasters and Captns. to do their duties, settle their Public Accounts and proceed regularly in future. I am, &ca.[52]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 3, 1778.

Sir: Colo. Innes having staid a few days longer than he expected, it affords me an Opportunity of inclosing you the Returns of the Virginia Regts., which I promised in mine of the 27th December. I refer you to Colo. Innes for more full

[52] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

information than I have given you by letter, of matters relating to the Virginia line. A valuable prize has fallen into Genl. Smallwood's hands near Wilmington, I have not the particulars of her whole Cargo, but there are three hundred Chests of Arms besides many other useful Articles. I have the honour, etc.[53]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, January 4, 1778.

Parole Litchfield. Countersigns New-Haven, Norwich.

As fast as the men go into Hutts the tents are to be returned immediately to the Quarter Master General. The Commanding Officers of Regiments will see this performed. The Brigadiers are also to pay proper attention to it; and the Officers of Companies will be answerable for those which have been delivered to them. The Commander in Chief is thus pointed because he is informed that some tents have already been cut up by soldiers and disposed of; and because all the tents which now are good and can be repair'd will be indispensably necessary next campaign.

As fast as the tents come into the Quarter Master General's hands he is to have them washed, thoroughly repaired and stored; making a return of the whole and the quality of them.

By order of Congress no Officer is allowed to hold two Commissions in the Army; The Commanding Officers of Companies and Regiments are to pay strict attention to this order in making out their Muster Rolls.

A General Court-Martial is to sit tomorrow morning at nine o'Clock at the Bake House for the trial of all Prisoners which shall be brought before them. Colo. Swift is President, a captain from each brigade (those of Genl. Wayne's division

[53] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

excepted) will constitute the members of the Court. One orderly sergent from each division is to attend the Court.

*To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Valley Forge, January 4, 1778.

Sir: Your Letter of the 8th. Ulto. came to my hands a few days ago; and, to my great surprize informed me, that a Copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason, I find myself unable to acct.; but, as some end doubtless was intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any Member of that honble. body, should harbour an unfavourable suspicion of my having practiced some indirect means, to come at the contents of the confidential Letters between you and General Conway.

I am to inform you then, that Colo. Wilkenson, in his way to Congress in the Month of Octobr. last, fell in with Lord Stirling at Reading, and, not in confidence that I ever understood, inform'd his Aid de Camp Majr. McWilliams[54] that General Conway had written thus to you,

> Heaven has been determined to save your Country; or a weak General and bad Counsellors[55] would have ruined it.

Lord Stirling from motives of friendship, transmitted the acct. with this remark.

> The inclosed was communicated by Colonl. Wilkinson to Majr. McWilliams, such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect.

In consequence of this information, and without having any thing more in view than merely to shew that Gentn. that I was

[54] Maj. William McWilliams, aide to Lord Stirling.

[55] Washington starred this word "Counsellors" and wrote at the bottom of the page: "*One of whom, by the by, he was."

not unapprized of his intrieguing disposition, I wrote him a Letter in these Words.

Sir. A Letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph.

In a Letter from Genl. Conway to Genl. Gates he says, "Heaven has been determined to save your Country; or a weak General and bad Counsellors would have ruined it."

I am Sir &ca.

Neither this Letter, nor the information which occasioned it, was ever, directly, or indirectly communicated by me to a single Officer in this Army (out of my own family) excepting the Marquis de la Fayette, who, having been spoken to on the Subject by Genl. Conway, applied for, and saw, under injunctions of secrecy, the Letter which contained Wilkenson's information; so desirous was I, of concealing every matter that could, in its consequences, give the smallest Interruption to the tranquility of this Army, or afford a gleam of hope to the enemy by dissentions therein.

Thus Sir, with an openess and candour which I hope will ever characterize and mark my conduct have I complied with your request; the only concern I feel upon the occasion (finding how matters stand) is, that in doing this, I have necessarily been obliged to name a Gentn. whom I am perswaded (although I never exchanged a word with him upon the Subject) thought he was rather doing an act of Justice, than committing an act of infidility; and sure I am, that, till Lord Stirlings Letter came to my hands, I never knew that General Conway (who I viewed in the light of a stranger to you) was a corrispondant of yours, much less did I suspect that I was the subject of your confidential Letters; pardon me then for adding, that so far from conceiving that the safety of the States can be affected, or in the smallest degree injured, by a discovery of this kind, or, that I should be called upon in such solemn terms to point out the author, that I considered the information as coming from

yourself; and given with a friendly view to forewarn, and consequently forearm me, against a secret enemy; or, in other words, a dangerous incendiary; in which character, sooner or later, this Country will know Genl. Conway. But, in this, as in other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken. I am, etc.[56]

[N.Y.H.S.]

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, January 4, 1778.

Sir: Unwilling as I am to add any thing to the Multiplicity of Matters that necessarily engages the attention of Congress, I am compelled by unavoidable necessity to pass my answer to Genl. Gates through their hands. What could induce Genl. Gates to communicate a copy of his Letter to me, to that Honble. Body, is beyond the depth of my comprehension upon any fair ground; but the fact being so, must stand as an apology for a liberty, which no other consideration would have induced me to take, to give you this trouble. With the greatest respect I am, etc.[57]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, January 5, 1778.

Parole Fairfield. Countersigns Milford, Harlem.

At a General Court-Martial held 1st. instant whereof Colo. Scammell was President appeared Denham Ford Commissary in General Greene's division charged with Theft. The Court having considered the Charge and the Evidence are of Opinion, That Denham Ford is guilty of the Charge exhibited against

[56] The draft in the *Washington Papers* is in Washington's writing, the variations being those of punctuation only. Another copy, by Washington, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[57] Both the draft and the letter sent are in Washington's writing, the only difference being in the word "matters" in the first sentence. In the draft Washington wrote "matters" first and then changed it to "business."

him and do sentence him to pay Mr. Spencer and Mr. Holliway two hundred dollars and that after he shall procure a certificate from the aforesaid Gentlemen of the Payment of the above sum, he be brought from the Provost-Guard, mounted on a horse back-foremost, without a Saddle, his Coat turn'd wrong side out, his hands tied behind him, and he drummed out of the Army (never more to return) by all the drums of the division to which he belongs and that the above sentence be published in the News-Papers.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be put in execution.

The Officers commanding Corps which furnished Seamen to the Galleys in Delaware, are to make inquiry and report to the Adjutant General whether or not they have joined their Corps again.

The Commissaries are without delay to provide soap to be issued to the troops; Soft soap is to be procur'd if hard soap cannot be obtained.

Pursuant to a resolve of Congress of 1st. instant the Commanding officers of the Continental Regiments now in camp are required to make immediate and exact returns of the Officers and soldiers in their respective Regiments to the Pay Master thereof, to prevent any imposition in the payment of the one month's pay extraordinary which Congress in their resolve of 30th. of December last have ordered to be given to the brave officers and soldiers of the Continental Army on account of their soldierly patience, fidelity and zeal in hutting &c. as express'd in the said resolve.

The daily guards are to parade in the morning precisely at nine o'Clock; which the officers of the day and Brigade Majors will duly notice.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, January 5, 1778.

Sir: I yesterday Evening had the honor of your Favor of the 1st Instant with its several inclosures.

The Letter you allude to from the Committee of Congress and Board of War came to hand on Saturday Morning; But it does not mention the Regulations adopted for removing the difficulties and failures in the Commissary line. I trust they will be vigorous, or the Army cannot exist. It will never answer to procure Supplies of Cloathing or Provision, by coercive measures. The small seizures made of the former, a few days ago, in consequence of the most pressing and absolute necessity, when that or to dissolve was the alternative, excited the greatest alarm and uneasiness, even among our best and warmest friends. Such procedures may give a momentary relief, but if repeated, will prove of the most pernicious consequence. Besides spreading disaffection, jealousy and fear in the people, they never fail, even in the most Veteran troops, under the most rigid and exact discipline, to raise in the Soldiery a disposition to licentiousness, plunder and Robbery, difficult to suppress afterwards, and which has proved not only ruinous to the Inhabitants, but in many instances to Armies themselves. I regret the occasion that compelled us to the measure the other day, and shall consider it among the greatest of our misfortunes, if we should be under the necessity of practising it again.

I had received from the Board of War, a Copy of the Resolutions of the 29th.[58] Ulto. and published such parts in Orders as were directed. I shall endeavour as far as possible to carry the intention of Congress into execution respecting the Extra pay,

[58] Should be 30th.

and to prevent any from receiving it, who do not come under their description.

The three packets with Commissions came safe to hand. I have, &c.

P. S. I am now under the necessity of keeping several parties from the Army, threshing Grain, that our Supplies may not fail. But this will not do. As to meat our Stock is trifling, not being sufficient for more than two days, if so long, with the most sparing œconomy.[59]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL LACHLAN McINTOSH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 5, 1778.

Sir: The Plan proposed by the Field Officers of your Brigade is Similar to what is adopted by some New England Corps, does them Honor, and is approved of. You are therefore, as soon as possible to make up the 1st. 2d. and 3d. Battalions of No. Carolina, as nearly equal as Conveniently may be, from the Non Commissioned Officers and privates of the other Regiments of that State, and order all the Commissioned Officers of the vacant Regiments upon the Recruiting Service without delay, that they may if possible [under the advice and direction of their Governor] be able to fill their Regiments and join the Army early the next Campaign. They are to use their utmost exertions to pick up all deserters and other stragglers belonging to the Continental Army wherever they may be found and the better to effect these purposes, they are to request his Excellency the Governor of No. Carolina, that he will be pleased to give every Assistance in his power, and fall upon some effectual measures to fill up expeditiously the Quota of Troops from that State in which its own Honor and that of the Continent is so

[59] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

much concerned. And assist in Clothing their Troops as other States have done which prevents desertions and saves many useful Lives.[60]

To MAJOR PETER SCULL

Valley Forge, January 5, 1778.

Sir: A few days ago I received your Favor of the 27th. Ulto. I wish it had been on any other Subject than that of your resignation, and am extremely sorry the situation of your affairs should have made such an application necessary. I must request, Sir, if it can be done, that you will not entertain an idea of it. It is no time for Officers of merit in which class I consider you, to leave the Army. I know that the Service has been less honorable, and attended with more distressing circumstances to the Officers, than I could have wished. These I hope will in a great measure be shortly removed, and that a reform and some regulations will take place, that will make the condition of the Officers more agreeable and Commissions much more desirable than they have yet been. At any rate, I would wish you to decline the measure, till you see what Establishments may be come into.

I am much obliged by your assurances of personal attachment and am, etc.[61]

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, January 6, 1778.

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 4th. Instt. When you reflect how lately you joined the Army. What indulgencies you have had, and how long you were at and in the Neighbourhood of your Home, after your appointment, you cannot

[60] The draft is in the writing of Lieut. Henry P. Livingston. Washington added the phrase in brackets.

[61] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

be surprised, that I disapproved your application for a Furlough and with some degree of displeasure.

It has been a custom with several Officers to resign of late when Furloughs could not be granted them consistently with the good and demands of the service. This practice you seem to wish to pursue; I therefore inform you, However anxious I might have been before for your continuance in the Army, that if you can obtain liberty from Congress to resign, to whom it will be necessary to apply, that you will meet with no difficulty with me.[62] I am, etc.[63]

To WILLIAM CLAYTON, BENJAMIN YARD, RENSSELAER WILLIAMS, AND BENJAMIN VAN CLEAVE[64]

Head Quarters, January 6, 1778.

Gentlemen: I received your Letter of the 2d Instant pointing out the many inconveniences that will attend Trenton and its Neighbourhood by quartering the light Horse there. Before this Step was determined on I made inquiry of the Forage Master Genl., who reported, that plenty of forage &c could be got convenient to the Town. my desire of adding in some degree to the Security of that neighbourhood and the public property thereabouts was also an inducement to it, which by your letter I observe you are of opinion, will have a contrary effect; but in this I am satisfied you will find yourselves deceiv'd particularly when they will be aided by a body of Infantry on that side Delaware, which probably may be the Case [after some little time].

[62] Malcom continued in the service until his regiment was consolidated with Spencer's in April, 1779. He afterwards served as deputy adjutant general of the Northern Department and colonel of New York levies.

[63] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[64] Magistrates of Trenton and Mercer Counties, N. J.

My duty obliges me to Quarter the Horse in such places as can afford them the necessary supplies during the Winter, and where they may at the same time give some Cover to the Country. If upon trial, Trenton is not found to Answer these intentions, such change must take place as will most probably answer this purpose. I am, etc.[65]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 6, 1778.

Parole Hampton. Countersigns Jamestown, Springfield.

The difficulty of procuring Forage for such horses as must necessarily be detained for the common purposes of the camp obliges the Commander in Chief to call upon the General Officers, and Commanding Officers of Regts. to see that no Officers under their respective Commands (except those who are allowed Forage by Congress and even to those it is recommended to part With their horses if they can) does under any Pretence whatsoever keep a horse in Camp. The Plea of doing it at their own Expence will not be admitted as the Evil will not be thereby remedied.

A strict Compliance with this order is expected from every Officer.

The Quarter Master General is without delay to send for the Iron-Ovens provided by Mr. Erskine and deliver one to each Brigade; He will know at Head Quarters where they now lay.

The General in riding thro' the Incampment, observing that many huts were covered with tents whilst Chimneys were building to others, again repeats his Orders to have the Tents delivered up the moment the Huts are, or can be completed: for the

[65] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The phrase in brackets was added by Washington.

doing of which will allow only this week. And he expects from the General Officers commanding the Wings and the Second Line that they will put this into a train of execution and see that the order is complied with.

The spirits which the Commander in Chief ordered to be seized may be delivered to the officers, by the Commissary in due Proportion.

Colo. Dewees who was nearly ruined by the Enemy complains that the remains of his buildings are likely to be destroyed by this Army. The Commander in Chief positively forbids the least Injury to be done to the walls and chimnies of Colo. Dewee's buildings; and as divers Iron plates have been taken from them the Commanding Officers of Corps are immediately to inspect all the huts of their Regimt. and make return to the Quarter Master Genl. of all they can find and the names of the Persons in whose possession they are found that they may be restored when demanded.

The Regimental Surgeons are immediately to make returns to Doctr. Cochran the Surgeon General of all the men in their Regts. who have not had the small pox. They will also call on Doctr. Cochran for what Sulphur they need for the use of their Regiments.

At a General Court Martial held the second inst. in General Varnum's Brigade of which Major Ward[66] was President, Ensign Benjamin Arnold[67] of Colo. Angell's Regiment charged with geting drunk and behaving in a disorderly and unsoldier-like manner in camp on 6th. of December; with refusing to retire to his quarters when ordered by the Colonel, sending him for answer that he would go when he pleased and not before, and also for refusing to do his duty when regularly warned and

[66] Maj. Samuel Ward, jr., of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was lieutenant colonel in May, 1778; retired in January, 1781.

[67] Of the Second Rhode Island Regiment.

threatening to leave the service whether he could get a discharge or not, on 24th. of the same month, was tried and adjudged guilty of the whole and by the Court unanimously sentenced to be discharged with Infamy, to be rendered ever hereafter incapable of holding a Commission in the Continental Service; and that it should be accounted scandalous for an Officer to hold any friendly correspondence with him. The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence and orders it to be executed.

At a General Court Martial held in Genl. Weedon's Brigade on 4th. instant, whereof Lt. Colo Simms[68] was President John Reily a soldier in 2nd. Virginia Regt. charged with deserting from his guard and taking with him two prisoners in irons was tried and found guilty of the Crime wherewith he was charged and Sentenced therefor to Suffer death.

The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence and orders that it be put in execution next friday at ten o'Clock in the forenoon near the grand parade.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 7, 1778.

Parole Warsaw. Countersigns Berlin, Dresden.

The Quarter Master General is to apply to the Adjt. General for a fatigue party and cause all dead horses in and about the camp, and all offal to be buried, after which each division Quarter Master is to see this regularly performed once a week in and near their own divisions. The Officers commanding Divisions are required to know that this order is executed. The Depy. Clothier Genl. desires those brigade Quarter Masters and officers who drew the cloathing lately at White Marsh, for the

[68] Lieut. Col. Charles Simms, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment. He was transferred to the Second Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; resigned in December, 1779.

brigades and have not yet given in the Regimental Receipts for their proportion to produce them immediately to him. He also requests all persons having private accounts with him to call and settle the same.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Valley Forge, January 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: Learning that the Captured Brig contains a great quantity and variety, of officers baggage; and necessaries proper for them; many articles of which from the length of time I have been in the service and difficulty of procuring them at first, I stand much in need of, I shall be obliged to you for sending me, if to be had, the things contained in the Inclosed memm. I will pay the appraised value, or come in as a common purchaser at a public auction as shall be thought best. With sincere esteem and regard I am, etc.

P. S. I shall refer you to another Letter of mine written since the above, but still wish for the articles in the Inclosed List.[69]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: The inclosed to Govr. Johnson,[70] on the subject of compleating and Cloathing the Troops of Maryland, is left open for your inspection. After reading, be pleased to seal and transmit it to the Governor with the returns for which I have referred him to you.

The Officers in this Camp are anxious to come in for a share of the Baggage taken in the prize Brig. That justice may be done to all, I propose that the whole shall be sent here, opened, inventoried, and every Officer have a proportion, provided there

[69] From a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress. This list is not found.

[70] Gov. Thomas Johnson.

be sufficient; but if there should not be enough for all to have a full proportion, the Officers of your Division who were the captors ought, I think, to have a preference. That they may not imagine that any injustice is intended towards them, by having the whole brought here, I would have you inform them, that my principal motive for bringing them is to secure them and I would have you send an Officer from each of your Regiments to assist in opening and taking an account of the Goods, and after that is done drawing a proportion for your Division. The Arms, Tents, and other Stores should be sent back into the Country, from whence they may be removed to a place of perfect safety. If there are any Soldiers Shoes and Stockings, I suppose some of them may be immediately necessary for your Troops, but I beg you may detain as few of the Shoes as possible, as they are much wanted here and we have no great probability of getting them, whereas I imagine you will have a better chance of procuring them in the part of the Country where you are.

Whether these Goods will be Sold by Auction, or delivered to the Officers at a moderate appraisement, I do not yet know, but I think the latter will be best, as bidding upon each other will raise the price and of consequence tend to depreciate our Money. Neither do I know, what Congress will deem a compensation to the Captors.

We are in the greatest want of Blocks and Falls to raise the Bridge over Schuylkill, the Timber is all cut and ready to put up. Inclosed you have a list of such things as are wanting, and if the Brig which you have taken will afford them, I beg they may be immediately sent off. We expected them from Bordentown, but we have been disappointed, and the Work stands still.

There are some small matters which I want particularly for my own use, I have mentioned them in a private Letter to you. I am, &ca.[71]

[71] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 8, 1778.

Parole Newark. Countersigns Woodbridge, Chatham.

The Commander in Chief is informed that gaming is again creeping into the Army; in a more especial manner among the lower staff in the environs of the camp. He therefore in the most solemn terms declares, that this Vice in either Officer or soldier, shall not when detected, escape exemplary punishment; and to avoid discrimination between play and gaming forbids Cards and Dice under any pretence whatsoever. Being also informed that many men are render'd unfit for duty by the Itch, He orders and directs the Regimental Surgeons to look attentively into this matter and as Soon as the men (who are infected with this disorder) are properly disposed in huts to have them annointed for it.

All issuing Commissaries are carefully to Save all the horns of the cattle and have them separated from the bones and then return'd to the Quartr. Master General, who is to store them.

A detachment of a Captain and forty men from each brigade are to attend the execution of John Reily on the grand parade at ten o'Clock tomorrow forenoon.

At a General Court Martial held 5th. inst. in General Muhlenberg's Brigade of which Lt. Colo. Ball[72] was president Ensign Cooke of 1st. Virginia Regiment charged with denying upon Oath what he formerly and has since said he knew respecting Captain Crump's[73] behaviour, thereby acting inconsistently with honor and truth was tried and found guilty of the charge;

[72] Lieut. Col. Burgess Ball, of the Ninth Virginia Regiment. He was transferred to the First Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; prisoner on parole until retired in February, 1781.

[73] Capt. Abner(?) Crump, of the First Virginia Regiment.

and by the unanimous opinion of the Court sentenced to be discharged from the service; The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be executed forthwith.

INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters near the Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I have thought proper to give you the following Instructions relative to the Ordnance Department under your command. My wish to have so essential a Department of the Army in the best order the next Campaign induces me to desire that no time may be lost in geting every thing forward with the utmost expedition.

As the short inlistment of the Artificers have been, and still may be, productive of bad consequences, you are to inlist for the War, or during the pleasure of Congress, all the different Artillery Artificers necessary to carry on the different branches of Work at Carlisle and Springfield, upon the best terms; the whole to be on one establishment as to pay, Rations, Clothing, &ca., so as to be formed into as many Companies as shall be necessary for their good Government, and consistent with Oeconomy.

The Laboratory Companies at Carlisle and Springfield to be augmented to one hundred Men each.

You are hereby authorized to procure and collect such Ordnance Stores as shall be wanted for next Campaign, and to form Magazines of fixed Ammunition, at such places as shall be pointed out to you. But before any Stores are procured, you are to give notice to the Board of War of the intention and manner of doing it, in such season, that if it should interfere with any measures formed by them it may be prevented in time.

The Ordnance Departments are to be fixed on a proper plan, without loss of time, if any thing, is yet wanting to render them more complete. Carlisle, Lebanon and Springfield to be the Magazines.

The Stores and Artillery not essentially necessary in Camp, to be transported to Lebanon. Perhaps it may be best to deposit some of the Stores at an intermediate distance.

If there is not every reason to believe that the business of the Laboratories will go on with expedition at Lebanon and the other places, materials should be ordered to Camp, and each Regiment employed in making and storing Musket Cartridges. At all events, I think this would be proper, as a store of them cannot be hurtful to us.

All the spare Arms should be inspected and thoroughly repaired; too many hands nor too much vigilance cannot be used in this business, as it is to be hoped that the augmentation of the Troops will render them necessary in the Spring.

At the opening of the Campaign a travelling Forge for each Division will be necessary to keep the Arms in repair.

The Artillery at Portsmouth must be brought forward to Springfield; and that at Albany, except what may be necessary for the Troops on Hudson's River, to Lebanon, or in the State of Pennsylvania.

The Artillery alloted for the field and reserve, in your Estimate, I think amply sufficient; but a new arrangement of the Army may make some change necessary.

You are to procure as many Waggoners as will be necessary for the Artillery, to be inlisted for the War, on such terms as shall be given to you by the Quarter Master General.

You are to give an estimate of the Number of Horses, and such other things for the Artillery as will probably be wanted, to the Quarter Master General.

I think the following will be a proper arrangement of the Battalions of Artillery, and the Number of Men to be furnished by each State in addition to those already raised, and I shall accordingly recommend it to Congress.

Each Company to consist of sixty men, Officers included.

				Men.	
Virginia, Harrison	10	Companies		600	
Maryland	2			120	720
	12				
Pennsylvania, Procter	8	present	251.		
		wanting	229	480	
Jersey, Clark and Randall	2	present	55.		
		wanting	65	120	
Lee, Porter and Jones	2	present	95		
		wanting	25	120	720
	12				
Connecticut &ca. Lamb			present.	399.	
New York, Bauman and Doughty	2	present	73		
		wanting	47	120	
New Hampshire	2			120	
Rhode Island	1			60	
		Wanting in the whole		21	720
Massachusetts, Crane	12		present	497.	
			wanting	223	720
					2880

You are to procure Cloathing for your Corps, provided it does not interfere with any arrangements made by the Clothier General, to whom you are to write on the Subject.

You will make a particular report of your doings to me as soon as may be convenient.

N. B. Let the Articles of Tents be particularly attended to and a large number provided.[74]

[74] In the writing of Samuel Shaw.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: In addition to the Instructions I gave you to day, I beg may be added that of providing a number of Gunscrews for the purpose of drawing Ball. I conceive this to be a matter well worthy of attention, will prevent the disorderly firings in our Camp, and be a considerable public saving.

If they are to be made, Let them be stout and Substantial, but I recollect something of a large importation of these from France. If they are to be had, the expence of making will be saved.

Let me know whether the Artificers in the Artillery line are to prepare the Travelling Forges, and what Waggons for Ammunition, and other purposes we are to depend upon them for, that the Qr. Mr. Genl. may regulate his Department accordingly. I am, etc.[75]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN GLOVER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: As the short time we have to lay in Winter Quarters ought to be spent in training the Men, and endeavouring to bring them into the Field in a more regular manner than they have hitherto been, I must desire that you will join your Brigade as soon as possible; in order to effect this measure. I have another reason, which is, that so many of the Brigadiers and Colonels commandant, who have been long absent from their Families, have been under the necessity of going home to look into their private affairs, that there are scarce Officers Sufficient to do the Camp Duties, much less to make a proper arrangement, should the Enemy move out against us.

[75] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

I desire you will bring on all detachments from your Brigade that may have been left at any of the posts which they have been at during the last Campaign, or that may have recovered in the Hospitals. I am, etc.[76]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I desire you will immediately detach a proper Officer from your Brigade with orders to bring forward all the men that mav have been left upon command at the posts where the Brigade has been stationed, and who have recovered in the different Hospitals to which they have been sent. If any of the Men left at the Elaboratories have become expert at the Business and therefore useful in preparing Ammunition and Military Stores against the next Campaign I would wish they may remain, but all the others who are fit for duty are to be brought on without delay. I am, &ca.

To COLONEL SAMUEL BLATCHLEY WEBB

Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I was this Evening favoured with your Letter of the 29th. Ulto. I had heard before of your unfortunate expedition and Captivity,[77] and not without concern.

It would give me pleasure to render you any services in my power, but it is impossible for me to comply with your request, without violating the principles of Justice and incurring a charge of partiality. You are sensible, that we have several Officers now

[76] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This same letter was also sent to Brig. Gen. Ebenezer Learned. In John Glover's *Memoir* this letter is printed with the following postscript: "Send on all officers whose Furloughs have expired, or who are absent without leave."

[77] Webb had been taken prisoner in an attempt on Long Island in December, 1777.

in Captivity with the Enemy of your rank and of Lt. Colo. Campbell's[78] rank, who have been in this unhappy situation much longer than you. Some taken when Genl. Thompson was defeated at the Three Rivers early in 1776. Others at Long Island in August following. Others at Fort Washington and a further number at the Battle of German Town. These Gentlemen would surely exclaim loudly against my conduct and with reason, were any distinctions to be made by my concurrence or authority to their prejudice. So far as Exchanges have depended on me, or as they may rest with me, they have been and ever will be conducted on one principle, to wit, To release those first, who were first captured, as far as circumstances of rank would apply. There is no other rule by which equal and impartial justice can be done. I know there have been some Exchanges contrary to this Rule, but they were not made with my privity, consent or approbation. In a Word, you may rest assured, when ever circumstances will put it in my power to effect your Exchange and that of all the Officers and privates, under the restrictions I have mentioned, there shall not be a moments delay on my part; but on other terms, or in a different order, you will find on reflection, I can never do it. Suppose yourself for an Instant an Officer taken at any of the above periods, you would consider it an injury, a wrong, an act of high injustice done you, If one captured the 10th. of December last of your rank was exchanged before you. Perhaps on your return, you may have interest enough with your Acquaintances to obtain your release on parole, but you cannot do this on a principle of having an Officer sent in on the like indulgence, the objections to an enlargement on parole out of due course in such case, being the same as to an Exchange. I am, etc.[79]

[78] Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell, of the Seventy-first Foot, British Army.
[79] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I am directed by the Board of War to acquaint you, that they have received undoubted information, that a Captain Dick and a number of American Officers are confined in Dungeons in England.

It is not known with whom this injurious and unwarranted Treatment originated, nor by what Authority it is continued; but it is expected that you will interest yourself to have it redressed. The Board cannot but feel the Wrong, and however painful it may be to retaliate, they are determined to treat an equal number of your Officers, of the like rank, with the same degree of rigor, as long as it shall remain.

Your Favor of the 21st. Ulto. in answer to mine of the 28th. of November was duly received.

Before I conclude, I would mention my concern that your last Flag was fired upon. From the inquiries I have made upon the Subject, the accident appears to have happened from your Messengers approaching by an indirect road and Omitting to give the customary Signal in time. I am, etc.[80]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 9, 1778.

Parole Blenheim. Countersigns Bolton, Bergen.

The execution of John Reily is respited 'till tomorrow ten o'Clock in the forenoon, when the detachments from the several brigades are to attend on the grand parade.

[80] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Desertions were one of the numerous troubles that afflicted the encampment at Valley Forge. On January 8 Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald wrote Capt. Allen McLane, by direction of Washington, to round up deserters in Delaware State and empowered him to call for assistance from all civil and military officers in so doing. This order is in the *Washington Papers*.

Some doubts having arisen with respect to the manner in which the pay-rolls for the months extraordinary pay should be made up; the proceeding therein is to be stayed 'till further Orders.

The regimental Pay Masters are to bring in their abstracts for the month of November for examination.

The Major Generals and Brigadiers (or Officers commanding the brigades) of each division are to fix on some suitable ground near their respective Brigades where hospitals may be erected, one for the sick of each Brigade, and as soon as the men can be possibly spared from working at the huts, they are to erect their hospitals. The officers who shall be appointed to superintend this work will receive directions therefor at the Adjutant Genl.'s Office.

The Brigade Quarter Masters are as soon as possible to make Racks for all the horses of their brigades to prevent a waste of forage.

The General is informed that many Officers are frequently passing out of Camp without leave; That practice is positively forbiden; and no officer is to go beyond the limits of the camp without written license from the Major General or Brigr. of the division or brigade to which he belongs.

Each Brigade Quarter Master is to come tomorrow in the forenoon to receive the iron Ovens for their brigades.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 9, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favs. of the 17th. and 25th. of December. At the time of your writing, Genl. Burgoyne could not have recd. my letters, which were dated the 17th. and 20th. of December.

Colo. Webb wrote to me himself upon the subject of his Exchange, to which I have given him an answer.

I beg you will carefully forward the inclosed Letters to Brigadiers Glover and Learned. They contain orders for them to join their respective Brigades, with which they are much wanted.

I am glad to hear that considerable quantities of Cloathing have been purchased on the general account of the Continent, and I hope these supplies, in aid of what each State will furnish for its particular Troops, will relieve the Army from the extreme distress which they have been in for covering.

Be pleased to deliver the inclosed Letter to Baron Stuben who I imagine waits at Boston for my answer. I am, etc.[81]

[MS. H. S.]

To BARON STEUBEN[82]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 9, 1778.

Sir: I yesterday received the Honor of yours from Portsmouth,[83] inclosing the Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Franklin and Deane, the original of which I shall be glad to receive from your own Hands, as soon as it is convenient for you to undertake the Journey.

As it will lay solely with Congress, to make a suitable provision for you in the American Army, you will be under the necessity of prolonging your Journey, in order to lay before them at York Town, the honorable testimonials which you bear of your former Service.

I return you my thanks for the polite manner in which you express your desire of serving under me, and have the Honor, etc.[84]

[81] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[82] Frederick Wilhelm Augustus Henry Ferdinand, Baron von Steuben.
[83] Steuben's letter, undated, is filed under Jan. 8, 1778, in the *Washington Papers*.
[84] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, January 9, 1778.

Sir: I Yesterday Evening had the honor to receive your favor of the 5th. Inst. with its Inclosures.

The power Congress have been pleased to vest me with for appointing Aids de Camp, I shall use with œconomy, and will not appoint more, at any time, than shall be necessary and essential to advance the public interest. Any future appointments that may be material, will be made out of the line of the Army, if circumstances will allow it. In general this has been the case.[85]

The proceedings of Congress for the detention of Genl. Burgoyne and Army, or rather suspending their embarkation, till the convention of Saratoga is explicitly ratified and notified by the Court of Britain shall remain secret here, till they are duly announced by Congress. This procedure, when known to the General, will chagrine him much; For I learn by a Letter from Genl. Heath, that the refusal to let his troops embark at Rhode Island had given him some uneasiness.

I have nothing of importance to communicate and have only to add, that I have the honor, etc.

P. S. The great diversity of Opinions prevailing, as to the Operations which the resolve of the 30th Ulto. and 1st Inst. should have, which give a Month's Extra pay, makes it necessary for me to request Congress to describe with certainty and precision the persons whom they intended should be the particular Objects of their benevolence. Without this I am certain, I shall not be able to execute the Resolves, according to their intention and in a manner that will be agreeable to the Army.

[85] By the resolve of January 3 Washington was authorized to appoint such aides-de-camp for himself as he should think proper and to make the appointments from regimental officers, if he saw fit. He had met former necessities by appointing extra aides, though no more than three could, by previous resolves of Congress, draw aides' pay or claim rank. Capt. George Lewis and Maj. Caleb Gibbs, of the Commander in Chief's Guard, were outstanding examples.

If such Officers and men, as were in Camp when the Resolves were passed and who continue the whole winter are the only Objects to be benefitted; It is urged, that many who have discharged their duty with fidelity, who have experienced a severe campaign to that time or till a few days before, who may be now out of Camp, and yet be here in the course of the Winter will be excluded. For Example All Officers and men on furloughs, tho they should have been long from their Homes before, perhaps much longer in many instances than many who remain and whose private and family necessities obliged them to be absent. Those who have fallen sick from their services and are in the Hospitals or the Country, Detachments on command, these would be excluded. Such discriminations, I believe will give great disgust and uneasiness. It is difficult in cases of this nature to draw a proper line of distinction and impossible to do it in such a way as to give general satisfaction. I do not mean to enlarge upon the subject, my only wish is to have it precisely ascertained, who are to be included and paid, and who are not, under the Resolves, that I may not on the one hand act contrary to public intention, and on the other give cause of complaint and perhaps do wrong to Individuals.

Knowing the difficulty of drawing a proper line and the disgust and murmurings that ever attend discriminations, were I to advise upon the subject, Only such Officers and Men should be excluded, since Extra pay has been determined on, as are absent from Camp without regular authority or such as may abuse Indulgences regularly obtained. It has been observed by some and perhaps with propriety, that there are Officers and Men now in Camp or who may be shortly in, who have no superior claim to merit; whose affairs are not so pressing, or who have already had indulgencies, or who from their being nearer their Friends and connections have had Opportunities of seeing them

frequently, of ordering their concerns and visiting their Homes once or twice or perhaps oftener in the Campaign, whilst they who were more remote were precluded from any of these advantages and were constantly on duty. These considerations will have their weight in the scale of disgust with the parties interested. For my part, tho' the Resolves were founded in principles of generosity, were intended to reward merit and promote the service, from the difficulties attending the execution, I wish they had never been made, especially, as I believe, Officers and Men would in a little time have been tolerably well reconciled to their Quarters. I have, &c.[86]

To JAMES LOVELL

Head Quarters, January 9, 1778.

Sir: In consequence of your Letter of the 31st of last month, I dispatched a Gentleman well acquainted with the ground and Inhabitants in the vicinity where the Journals of Congress were said to be deposited, in order to make inquiry concerning them; he found them without difficulty, and they will be sent forward to York, under the Escort of Colo. Hartley's Regiment. The search for the Types was not attended with equal Success; all that could be discover'd respecting them was, that the person who had possession of the papers, said he suspected the Types were concealed in some interior part of the Country; but he could not speak with any degree of certainty or precision upon the Subject.[87] I am, etc.[88]

[86] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[87] In September, 1777, Congress had directed General Armstrong to remove all the presses and type (except Dunlap's) from Philadelphia and Germantown to places of safety in the country, and on October 17 the Committee on Intelligence was directed to bring a press to York, Pa. Hall & Sellers were printing at York for Congress early in 1778.

[88] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, January 10, 1778.

Parole Boston. Countersigns Cambridge, Medford.

The issuing Commissary is hereby authorized to furnish the Generals and other Officers of the Army with small proportionable Quantities of spirit upon their orders whenever it can be spared; of which he is to keep a regular Account and settle with them for it at a reasonable price.

All the tin Cannisters that have been issued to the Troops are to be return'd forthwith to the Commissary of military stores who is to enter the number received of each Corps or Brigade.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 11, 1778.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

At a General Court Martial held 3rd. instant in Lord Stirling's division, whereof Lt. Colo. Brearly was President, John Rea, Quarter-Master in 6th. Pennsylvania Regiment charged with fraudulent Practices in said Regiment, ordering Lieutt. Gibbons[89] in the Provost, and behavior unbecoming the character of an Officer or a Gentlemen, was tried and by the unanimous opinion of the Court was found guilty of a breach of 21st. Article of 14th. section of the articles of War and sentenced to be discharged from the service.

At the same Court held 6th. instant, was tried Lieutt. Hays[90] of 12th. Pennsylvania Regt. charged with breaking open officers Chests at Bethlehem and ungentlemanlike behaviour. The Court unanimously acquit him of the first charge, but find him

[89] Lieut. James Gibbons, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was aide to General Irvine in 1779; thanked by Congress and brevetted a captain for bravery at Stony Point, N. Y.; resigned in May, 1781.

[90] Lieut. John Hays.

guilty of a breach of 5th. Article of 18th. Section of the articles of War and sentence him to be dismissed from the service.

The Commander in Chief approves both these sentences and orders them to be carried into execution accordingly.

To CAPTAIN GEORGE LEWIS

Valley Forge, January 11, 1778.

Dear George: I am sorry to find by your Letter to Mr. Harrison[91] that you still continue indisposed. If the state of your health requires leave of absence, I shall not object to your visiting your friends in Virginia to recover it. You will take this in your way as I shall want to see you before you go.

I wish you to have every part, and parcel of my Baggage removed from New Town to this place. I do not know in whose care, and possession it is; but am satisfied I ought to have a good deal there. among other things a Bed; end Irons, Plates, Dishes, and Kitchen Utensils, however, be it what it will let the whole come, pay, or bring an Acct. of the expenses attending the Storage &c; and hire or impress proper waggons for bringing these things. I am, etc.[92]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, January 12, 1778.

Parole Edenton. Countersigns Savannah, Charlestown.

The detachments ordered to relieve Colo. Morgan and to take post at the Gulph Mill, are to be on the grand parade and ready to march at Sunrise tomorrow morning with their provisions completed to next Wednesday inclusively.

The Commissary General of Issues is to keep an exact account of the number of Cattle delivered to the Army that the

[91] Lieut. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison.

[92] The text is from a typed copy kindly furnished by Frederick S. Peck, of Barrington, R. I., who owns the original A. L. S.

number of hides may be thereby ascertained and duly accounted for by the commissary of hides.

The Brigade Commissaries are to apply forthwith to their Brigadiers or Officers Commanding brigades, and with their approbation respectively, fix upon a plan for collecting all the dirty tallow, and saving the ashes for the purpose of making Soft soap for the use of the army; and also for employing proper persons to boil out the oil from the feet of the bullocks and preserve it for the use of the army; This oil is to be put in Casks and delivered to the Quarter Master General.

The Brigade Quarter Masters are to see that the order of 9th. instant for building racks for the horses be duly complied with, That the Waggon Masters pay proper attention to the horses, and that every Soldier caught on horse back is immediately confined and punished.

Lt. Stagg[93] of Colo. Malcom's Regiment, is appointed Brigade Major pro tempore in the brigade late Genl. Conway's and is to be respected as Such.

A detachment of one hundred and fifty men are to parade tomorrow morning at nine o'Clock on the grand parade, taking nothing in their packs but their blankets and provisions. Colo. Stewart[94] is to take command of this detachment.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, January 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 10th. My order to you to have the Baggage removed to this place, was founded upon [information] that there was a much greater quantity

[93] Lieut. John Stagg, of Malcom's Additional Continental regiment. He was brigade major in Conway's brigade; transferred to Spencer's Additional Continental regiment in April, 1779; contractor for supplies, Orange County, N. Y.; Assistant Adjutant General in 1781.

[94] Col. Walter Stewart, of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

than there turns out; but as it proves otherwise, you were right in detaining it, till you represented the matter to me. I wish the Gentlemen who drew up and signed the representation[95] had attended more closely to my Letter. They would have found nothing in it tending to rob them of their right, whatever that might prove to be.[96] The Officers of this part of the Army [who are suffering from Cold, want of Houses and every other convenience] only wanted an opportunity of furnishing themselves with many Articles of which most of them stand in as much need as the Gentlemen of your Division, [who are in comfortable Quarters] possibly can do. These they meant to pay for, so that if the whole Value had been adjudged to the Captors, the amount would have been ready for them. I am sorry that the Gentlemen, in the Course of their representation have been led into some very unmerited Reflection upon the Officers of this part of the Army, by supposing, that an unjust anxiety in them to possess those things to which they have not even a pretence of title as they say would prompt them to persuade me to do an act of injustice. I hope, upon a Review of the Matter they will acquit them of any such intention.

I desire you will communicate as much of this letter to them as respects their Representation, and assure them that as I never did, so I never shall shew an undue partiality to one part of the Army in preference to another. But that still upon the most dispassionate View I cannot think their reasonings in favour of an exclusive Right altogether admissible.

There were some Resolves of Congress passed at the commencement of this dispute,[97] for settling the mode of disposing

[95] The remonstrance of the officers of Smallwood's division is dated Jan. 10, 1778, and signed by 11 officers (2 colonels, 3 lieutenant colonels, and 6 majors). It is in the *Washington Papers*.

[96] The Varick Transcripts at this point has the following which does not appear in the draft: "I did not even pretend to determine the matter."

[97] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 14, 1777.

of prizes, but as I have not those Resolves by me, I cannot precisely determine what they are. I have wrote to Congress and stated the present Case [as you will see by my Letter sent thro yr. hands to Congress wch. you will please to seal and forward by express] and desired their determination, which will serve for a Guide in future. In the mean time, the Baggage may be exactly inventoried and delivered out to the Officers of the division at a just appraisement, and an exact account kept of the Amount, that the distribution may be made, when the determination of Congress is known, in whatever way they may direct. What are properly called Military Stores, may remain as they at present are. As for the Brig, I think she ought to be sold as speedily as possible, to the highest bidder; she will bring more now, when there is chance of running her out, than she will do in the Spring, when the River will be full of Ships of War. Besides if a detachment from the Enemy should oblige you to move your post, she will be inevitably lost. By this mode of proceeding the Captors will have justice done them, whether they shall be intitled to the whole or part of the prize in question.

As I imagine the Vessel at Reedy Island was taken by private adventurers, all we can do, is to purchase the property suitable for and wanted by the Army from the Captors at a reasonable price. I would therefore have them secured for the public and receipts given to those who appear to you to have the right, expressing the quantity and quality of the Goods, that they may apply to the Commissaries and Cloathier General for payment of the Articles in their respective departments. If Waggons can be got below, they should be immediately moving towards the Army.

I send you the Articles of War with some amendments since the first edition.

The intrenching Tools were ordered long ago and I thought had gone, but I have again ordered the Qr. Mr. General to do it and you may depend upon having them directly. I am, &ca.[98]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, January 12, 1778.

Sir: As I do not recollect with precision whether any or what Resolutions have been made by Congress respecting Captures by the Army or detachments of It, and not having all their proceedings with me, with which I have been honored from time to time, to assist my inquiries upon the subject, I must take the liberty to request, that they will determine and favor me with their decisions upon the following points.

First, What articles captured are to be considered as public property?

Secondly, Whether Articles captured by parties or Detachments, not determined public property, are to be distributed or sold for the benefit of it, the Army at large, or are to be considered as the sole and exclusive right of the Captors?

Thirdly, If in general instances, such articles as are taken and not considered public property, are determined to be the sole and exclusive right of the Captors are Stationary Detachments, who from their situation have much more than a common chance of making prizes to be considered upon the same footing?

Fourthly, If there is to be a distinction between Stationary and Other detachments, and the former are denied an exclusive right to the Captures they make, what proportion of the Articles are they to have?

[98] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

I have been induced to state the above Questions on account of some difficulties, that have arisen, respecting the prize taken by the Detachment at Wilmington under Genl. Smallwood, that the same may be determined and certain principles established to govern in like and future cases. In the instance of this prize, as the baggage taken, from Genl. Smallwood's and the Officers representation, will be but inconsiderable, when divided among themselves, I have consented that they shall have it at a just appraisement and distribution, and directed him to have the whole and the value properly inventoried, that such order may be made respecting the latter, as the decisions of Congress may justifye and point out. I have also directed a Sale of the Brig, as I understand some Offers have been made for her, and as her situation may be considered hazardous and precarious.

Besides the Brig taken at Wilmington, a vessel has stranded at Reedy Island with Goods on board. It is said a quantity of Rum, some bales of Cloth, a number of Hats and some other articles, all wanted by the Army, have been taken out of her by the Militia, particularly those of Kent County. These General Smallwood is endeavouring to find, that they may be of public benefit. I have the honor, etc.[99]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

January 12, 1778.

Sir: I have duly received your favour of Yesterday, and observe the pernicious tendency which may arise from a continuation of the intercourse between the City and Country in order to prevent which, you are hereby instructed to take the

[99] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read in Congress on January 20 and referred to the Marine Committee.

most immediate and Coercive measures. I should gladly know who the Officers are, who act so directly contrary to my inclination and express commands, in granting passes for the purpose of taking Provision into the City.

I must repeat my desire, that you will adopt the most vigorous means (if nothing less will do) to put a stop to this practice; In the execution of which you shall have every necessary support from me. Major Jamison (I'm sure) will give you every assistance in his power.[1]

The Commissary of Purchases will, in a few days, go over to the Counties of Bucks and Burlington for the purpose of purchasing Beef and Pork from those, who will agree to take Continental Currency; from the others, there will be a necessity to take these Articles, where it is known they can be spared, and allow them a Reasonable price, it is unnecessary to request your Assistance in this matter, as I know you will afford every Aid in your power.

The Bearer will deliver you my Proclamations[2] which you will distribute as you see proper. I am, &ca.[3]

To DOCTOR BENJAMIN RUSH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 12, 1778.

Sir: I have been favoured with yours of the 26th. Decemr. and soon after the receipt I had an opportunity of communicating the substance of it and one from Govr. Livingston on

[1] On January 12 Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald informed Maj. John Jameson, by order of Washington, that a stop was to be put to the intercourse between Philadelphia and the country. It had been reported that Jameson's dragoons, on picket duty, could be bribed to permit provisions to go into the city. Fitzgerald also warned Jameson of a report that the British intended an attempt on his dragoon pickets. Fitzgerald's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[2] The proclamation of Dec. 20, 1777, *ante*, respecting threshing of grain, *q. v.*

[3] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

the same subject to the Director General. It is to be regretted that a Department for which such ample provision has been made, and on which so much depends, should yet be inadequate to the Ends proposed. If the present medical establishment is as you say a bad one, no time ought to be lost in amending it, and those Gentlemen who have had an opportunity of trying it for a twelvemonth, are certainly best able to point out the defects. From the peculiarity of our circumstances we cannot expect to be as well furnished with the necessary apparatus of an Hospital as we ought to be; but still I believe we might do much better if more order and discipline was observed by the patients. Upon hearing of the many irregularities committed by them I have lately ordered a discreet Field Officer to visit the principal Hospitals and endeavour to establish a proper discipline.

Among the many necessary reforms in the Military line, I suppose that of the regulation of the Hospitals will be considered. I shall always be ready to contribute all in my power towards rendering the situation of these unhappy people who are under the necessity of becoming the inhabitants of them, as comfortable as possible. I am, etc.[4]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 13, 1778.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

The Honble the Congress having been pleased to call Colo. Pickering to a seat at the Board of War, have appointed Colo. Scammell, Adjutant General in his Room who is to be obeyed and respected as such.

[4]The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

At a General Court Martial of which Colo. Swift was President, held 5th. instant Captn. Powell[5] of 3rd. Virginia Regiment charged with "insulting Lieutt. Davis when on his guard and arresting him upon a groundless Foundation," was tried and acquitted of the first charge; but found guilty of the second and sentenced therefor to ask Pardon of Lieutt. Davis in Presence of the officers of his Regiment. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be executed tomorrow morning at roll-calling.

At the same Court held 6th. instant Captain Flagg[6] charged with "neglect of duty 1st. in suffering the Marquis de la Fayette, when Major Genl. of the day to come in the night to the center of his Picquet, without being stopped or challenged; 2nd for permitting his sentries to have fires in his sight" was tried and acquitted by the unanimous opinion of the court. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence.

At the same Court held 7th. instant Captn. Laird,[7] charged with "Neglect of duty, in suffering the Major General of the day to surprize him at his picquet in the night," was tried and found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from the service.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence.

Lieutt. Ziegler[8] appeared before the same Court charged with "Striking and wounding inhumanely with his sword James Quin a soldier belonging to 7th. Pennsylvania Regiment of which Wound he died." Lieutt. Ziegler confessed, the fact but justified it by being in the line of his duty.

"The Court having considered the Evidence are of Opinion that Lieutt. Zieglers Justification is sufficient and do acquit

[5] Capt. Robert Powell, of the Third Virginia Regiment. He resigned in July, 1779; served as a major of Virginia Militia in 1781.

[6] Capt. Ebenezer Flagg, of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was a major in May, 1778; killed in Westchester County, N. Y., in May, 1781, in an encounter with Delancey's corps.

[7] Capt. David Laird, of the Tenth Virginia Regiment.

[8] Lieut. David Ziegler, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. He was a captain in December, 1778; retired in January, 1783.

him of the charge exhibited against him." The Commander in Chief approves the sentence. The numerous instances of the peaceable inhabitants being plundered and grossly abused by the soldiery, demand the severest examples. They have in general orders been repeatedly caution'd against the commission of those crimes and assured that no Mercy should be shewn to the offenders. Justice to the sufferers and a regard to the cause we are engaged in (which is essentially injured by such practices) rendered this necessary. At the same time The General desires that such offenders may be corrected with coolness; and that when the case does not require an immediate example officers would confine and bring them to a regular trial.

At the Same Court-Martial held 8th. inst. Ensign Washburn[9] of Colo. Bigelow's Regt. charg'd with "Leaving his picquet and going to a house at some distance," was tried and found guilty; but on account of the circumstances of the case the Court sentenc'd him to be reprimanded by the Colo. of the regiment he belongs to in presence of the officers of the regt.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be executed tomorrow morning at roll-calling: But cautions all officers on guard to avoid the like inattention to duty; as a repetition of the offence will not again meet with the same clemency.

At a general court martial held 10th. instant whereof Colo. Olney was president, Lieutt. Joseph Fish of Colo. Durkee's regiment charged with "Squandering away public Stores," was tried and found guilty and sentenced to return the stores so squandered away (being a firelock) into the public Store; to forfeit all his pay, and to be dismiss'd from the Service. The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence; but upon the recommendation of the court remits that part of it which respects

[9]Ensign Joseph Washburn, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment. He was promoted to lieutenant Mar. 2, 1779; resigned in April, 1780.

the forfeiture of pay. The Court Martial of which Colo. Swift is President is dissolved.

A General Court-Martial is to Sit tomorrow at ten o'Clock in the forenoon, at the Bake-House for the trial of all prisoners which Shall be brought before them. Colo. Clark[10] is appointed President of this Court. A Captain from each Brigade (excepting Woodford, Learned's and McIntosh's) will constitute the members of the Court.

Officers who command guards are to give the Counter-Sign to the picquets as soon as it is dark.

The Commander in Chief is Surpriz'd to hear that the butchers have extorted money from the soldiers for the plucks of beef.[11]

The Commissaries are therefore directed to issue the head and pluck together at eight pounds, and the Quarter Masters are to see that the different Companies draw it in turn.

The flying-hospital huts are to be fifteen feet wide and 25 feet long, in the clear and the Story at least nine feet high; to be covered with boards or shingles only, without any dirt. A Window made on each side and a chimney at one end. Two such hospitals are to be made for each brigade in their rear, as near the center as may be; and if the ground admits of it not more than three, nor less than one hundred yards from it.

To MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT HOWE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, 22 Miles
from Philadelphia, January 13, 1778.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving your favours of the 2d. and 3d. of November by Genl. McIntosh who arrived very

[10] Col. Thomas Clark, of the First North Carolina Regiment. He was wounded at Stono Ferry June 20, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; retired in January, 1783.

[11] Heart, lights, and liver.

opportunely to take the command of the North Carolina Brigade, which had wanted a Brigadier very much since the Fall of Genl. Nash.

The account you give of the Number of Indians in the Southern Tribes, far exceeds any thing that I had an idea of, and it therefore behoves us the more to cultivate their friendship. But I hope, that as the means which our oppressors have hitherto used to stir up the Savages against us have been rendered fruitless, that they may in the like manner be disappointed in future thro' the activity and address of our Agents and the Generosity of the public who must purchase their Neutrality, at least.

It would in my opinion be in vain to apply to the States of North Carolina and Virginia to allow the Officers of South Carolina and Georgia to recruit among them, As it has been found, upon trial, that those States cannot furnish their own Quota of Continental Troops. If the Enemy should make any disposition towards a southern expedition, a detachment from the Continental Army and a Body of Militia from the Neighbouring States will undoubtedly be ordered to your assistance.

You will, long before this reaches you, have had the Satisfaction of knowing that Congress have conferred that Rank upon you which you claimed as your due, and which you complained had been unjustly detained from you. I imagine, from the time at which your promotion took place, that it has been in consequence of your own representation to Mr. Hancock of the 2d. of June.

Military operations seem to be at an end for the Winter. Sir William Howe is fixed in Philadelphia, and we have, by dint of labour and exposing the Troops to the utmost severity of the Season rather than give up the country to the ravages of the Enemy, established a post at this place, where the Men are scarcely now covered in log Huts, having hitherto lived in Tents and such temporary Shelters as they could make up. The want of

Clothing added to the rigor of the Season has occasioned them to Suffer such hardships as will not be credited but by those who have been spectators. I am, &ca.[12]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, January 13, 1778.

Dear Sir: Since writing to you this morning on the subject of the prize Brig Symetry, the Regulations of the Field Officers of the division for conducting the Sale and disposing of the Cargo was laid before me with a Letter from the Regimental Surgeons and Mates to Doctor Cochran. These Gentlemen feel themselves so much hurt by the discrimination made by these Regulations between them and the Officers of the Division that they have sent in their Resignations.

As the common Guardian of the Rights of every man in this Army I am constrained to interfere in this matter and to say that by the regulations a manifest injury is intended not only to the Gentlemen in the medical line, but to the whole Staff, who, provided the prize should be adjudged the sole property of the Captors (a matter in my opinion not easily to be reconciled on principles of equity or reason) have undoubtedly as good a right to become purchasers in the first instance and to all other priviledges as any Officers in the division.

For these Reasons therefore I desire that you will not proceed to a Sale or Distribution of any of the Articles, except the Vessel till you have my further directions, and that you will as early as possible transmit me an inventory of the Baggage and Stores. The Letter to Congress is nevertheless to go on and you will please to forward it as speedily as possible. I am, &ca.[13]

[12] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[13] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. In the letter sent, which was in the possession of the late F. B. McGuire in 1892, the last clause reads "you will please to forward it by the first Conveyance."

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, January 13, 1778.

Sir: This will be deliver'd to you by the Chevalier de Mauduit du Plessis, who was among the first French Officers that joined the Army of the United States; the gallant Conduct of this young Gentleman at Brandywine, German Town, and his distinguished Services at Fort Mercer, where he united the Offices of Engineer and Commandant of Artillery, entitle him to the particular notice of Congress; he made several judicious alterations in the works at Red bank, shew'd great good Conduct during the action in which the Hessians were repulsed and was spoken of in consequence in terms of the highest applause by the Commanding Officer of the Post; after the evacuation was determined upon he became the means of saving some valuable Artillery and Stores, and chearfully undertook as Volunteer the hazardous operation of blowing up the Magazines &c without the apparatus usually provided upon such occasions. I must farther add in Mr. Duplesis favour that he possesses a degree of Modesty not always found in men who have performed brilliant actions. It is with pleasure therefore that I recommend it to Congress to grant him a Brevet of Lieutenant Colonel, a Reward due to his merit and which will not have the inconvenience of occasioning any dissatisfaction in the Corps to which he belongs. As some particular Circumstances have prevented Mr. Duplessis waiting upon Congress sooner, I hope there will be no difficulty in antedating the Brevet, so that the Recompense may more immediately follow the Services which he has done; at the same time that there may not be any uneasiness on the part of Mr. Fleury whom Congress has been pleased to reward in the same way, and as their times of Service are nearly equal in France, I would propose that

Mr. Duplessis Brevet should bear the same date, vizt. the 26th. November.

I have the honor, etc.[14]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Wednesday, January 14, 1778.

Parole Perseverance. Countersigns Peace, Plenty.

The Majors of Brigade will deliver a list of the Field Officers in the Several brigades to which they belong tomorrow at orderly-time.

The Court-Martial which was to sit this day, to sit tomorrow ten o'Clock at the Bake-House near Head-Quarters.

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, January 14, 1778.

Sir: Your Letter of the 9th. Instant was delivered to me Yesterday, and I immediately acquainted the Forage Master General with such parts of it as related to his Department. If proper Magazines for the Subsistence of the cavalry cannot be formed at Trenton this is an insurmountable obstacle to their quartering there, and they must of necessity be removed to Flemingtown or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood, where the proper supplies can be obtained. But if the only objection to Trenton be a little difficulty that may at first occur in procuring the most desirable Quarters for the Officers and Men I would not have any time lost in seeking farther, the Barracks and the Town together will certainly furnish ample Quarters for the Galley Men and the Cavalry. The latter may with more propriety be billeted on the Inhabitants, in order to have their Horses immediately under their eye.

[14] In the writing of John Laurens. It is indorsed as read in Congress on January 19 and "request granted." The draft, also in Laurens's writing, varies in many, but not important, particulars.

As so much has been said of the Character and abilities of Mr. Crovatch,[15] I have no objection to his being engaged in the capacity of Exercise Master for a few months; at the same time I must caution you against a fondness for introducing foreigners into the Service; their ignorance of the Language of the Country and of the genius and manners of the people, frequently occasion difficulties and disgusts which we should not run the risque of, Unless it be in favour of extraordinary Talents and good Qualities. I shall give orders to the Quarter Master to employ the Armourer at Easton for the Service of the Cavalry, provided he has not been previously engaged in any other way, by the Commissary of Military Stores.

I must postpone any decision with respect to the Horses, until the arrival of the Committee of Congress, as I am in daily expectation of those Gentlemen. I hope you will not be long kept in suspence, if you can in the mean time, engage the Owners to keep their Horses on the spot, you will take every proper step for that purpose. I have no objection to your making Trial of the abilities of Mr. Betkin[16] as Brigade Major for the present, it will soon be discovered whether he is equal to the Office. I am, &ca.[17]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Thursday, January 15, 1778.

Parole ———. Countersigns ———.

Colos. Humpton[18] and Gibson,[19] Lt. Colo. Vose[20] and Majors Furnald[21] and Ball[22] are appointed to repair to the several

[15] Michael de Kowatz. He became commandant of the lancers of Pulaski's Legion, and was killed before Charleston, S. C., in May, 1779.

[16] Henry Bedkin. He was a Pennsylvanian; had been adjutant of the Fourth Continental Dragoons and was appointed a captain in Pulaski's Legion in April, 1778; served to the close of the war.

[17] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[18] Col. Richard Humpton, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

[19] Col. George Gibson, of the First Virginia Regiment.

[20] Lieut. Col. Elijah Vose, of the First Massachusetts Regiment.

[21] Maj. Tobias Fernald, of the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment.

[22] Maj. Burgess Ball, of the Fifth Virginia Regiment.

Hospitals in the middle department; They will receive their orders at the Adjutant Genl.'s office tomorrow morning; 1st. Pennsylvania, Poors, Learned's, Maxwell's Huntington's and McIntosh's brigades each give a Captain, Woodford's, Scott's Weedon's and Varnum's each a Subaltern for Said purpose. They must attend likewise at the aforesaid time and place.

Nicholas Gilman, Adjutant of 3rd. N. Hampshire Battalion is appointed Assistant to the Adjt. General and to be respected as Such.

The works marked out by the Engineers for the defence of the camp are to be executed with all possible dispatch, and the commander in chief requests the favor of General Greene, Lord Stirling and the Marquis de la Fayette (General Sullivan being upon other duty) to consult with Genl. Portail on the proper means and number of men necessary to execute the works in the different Wings and Second line and give orders accordingly, and that each of them appoint proper officers to Superintend and push forward the defences.

The Quarter Master General is positively order'd to provide straw for the use of the Troops and the surgeons to See that the Sick when they are remov'd to hutts assign'd for hospitals are plentifully Supplied with this Article. All the Armourers except those already imployed in their respective brigades are to parade tomorrow on the grand parade at Guard Mounting. A Camp Colorman from each brigade to parade at the Same time and place.

Provisions to be issued to the Troops up to next Sunday inclusively.

At a General Court-Martial held 28th. of November last in the North-Carolina Brigade of which Lt Colo. Davidson[23] was

[23] Lieut. Col. William Lee Davidson, of the Fifth North Carolina Regiment. He was killed at Cowan's Ford, N. C., in February, 1781.

President, Lieutt. Richard Whedby,[24] charged with acting in an ungentlemanlike manner and encouraging Theft in the Army was tried and found guilty and sentenced therefor to be discharg'd from the service. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be executed forthwith.

The Quarter-Master General is immediately to fix upon a proper Place between or near the Lines where hutts may be erected for Prisoners under the Provost Guard; He will also appoint a suitable Carpenter to assist and direct the men who shall be employ'd in the work. Two Axmen with their Axes from each of those Brigades which furnish Guards tomorrow are to be brought by their Brigade Majors to the Grand-Parade tomorrow morning at 9 o'Clock to be thus employ'd, and in like manner from day to day 'till the hutts are completed.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: In a letter from you of the 25th. Octobr. last, you informed me that twenty three Boats had been saved from the Enemy, besides what were up Esopus Creek, the number of which you did not then know. You at the same time informed me that you should have those put into repair that wanted it, and set the Carpenters at work to build new ones. I shall be glad to hear in your next what number you have at present upon the River and of what kinds.

I shall be glad to know whether any thing is now doing or whether any thing of Consequence has yet been done towards repairing the Works and replacing and compleating the obstructions in the North River. Genl. Gates was ordered by Congress to superintend that Business, but as he was so soon

[24] Lieut. Richard Whedbee, of the Seventh North Carolina Regiment.

after appointed to the New Board of War I imagine he never did any thing in it. By a letter from Genl. Parsons of the 29th. December, I find he was in Connecticut upon a visit to his Family by your licence. I therefore suppose you will have postponed your own Visit till his Return.

I shall be glad of the Return of the Troops at Fishkill &ca., called for in my last. I am, &ca.[25]

P. S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed to Springfield.[26]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: Should it be thought expedient to draw a Body of Men together early next Spring, it will be necessary for us to know previously what number of Arms we could have ready for such an emergency. I have desired Colo. Flowers to make me a return of all at the Magazines under his immediate direction, and have wrote to the Commissary at Springfield to do the like. You will be pleased to make the proper inquiry for such as may be in Boston and any other places in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, have them collected and properly deposited and a Return of them made to me as soon as possible. There may probably be quantities of Arms laying up and down useless at present for want of repairing; be pleased to endeavour to have them collected and put into a way of being fitted up.

I shall be glad to hear what steps are taking to recruit the Army, and of any other matters that relate to the Service. I am, etc.

[25] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[26] The letter to be forwarded to Springfield was addressed to Ezekiel Cheever, Commissary of Military Stores of the Continental Army, requesting immediate returns of arms and accouterments at Springfield. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

On January 15 Tilghman wrote to Lieut. Col. Benjamin Flower, by Washington's direction, for an exact return of all the arms in the different magazines. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

To COLONEL HENRY E. LUTTERLOH

Head Quarters, January 15, 1778.

Sir: The abuse of the indulgence hitherto granted to the Quarter Masters &ca. of taking Waggoners out of the Line makes it necessary to put an absolute stop to this practice. You are therefore to take timely measures for furnishing your Department with Drivers elsewhere, in order that every Soldier employed in that Capacity, may return to his Duty before the opening of the Campaign.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Friday, January 16, 1778.

Parole Arlington. Countersigns Albany, Andover.

A Flag will Soon go to the Enemies Lines, those Persons who have any things to send to our Prisoners there must have them at the Commissary Genl. of Prisoner's Quarters by next Saturday afternoon.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS

Valley Forge, January 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: Three days ago I received your favour of the 29th. Ulto. I had heard before of Colo. Webb's[27] misfortune thro various channels and by Letter from himself; and having written to him fully upon his request to be exchanged, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject. I shall therefore briefly observe, that I could not consent to it without doing injury to the Officers who have been much longer in Captivity, and subjecting myself to a charge of injustice and partiality.

I am sorry to find you have thoughts of leaving the Army. I hope you will consider the matter well and the consequences

[27] Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb.

which such a procedure may involve. Besides the loss of your own services the example might have a disagreable influence on other Officers. The discontent prevailing in the Army, from various causes, has become but too prevalent, and I fear, unless some measures can be adopted to render the situation of the Officers more comfortable than what it has been for some time past that it will increase. The depreciation of our Money, the difficulty of procuring necessaries and the exorbitant prices they are obliged to pay for them, when they can be had, are among the causes of dissatisfaction. Whatever your determination may be, I am persuaded you will not remain an idle Spectator, or be wanting in your exertions to promote the Cause. If you persevere in your wishes to retire, you must apply to Congress, as they only can give you permission.[28]

I wrote some days ago to Govr. Trumbull respecting the deficiency in the Quotas of Men which ought to be furnished by the States, and of the necessity of filling them. From the polite and obliging attention which the State of Connecticut have ever had to my representations and their earnest desire to promote the Service, I am encouraged to hope, that they will pursue every measure in their power that will contribute to that end. While you are at Hartford you will do well to throw your weight into the scale, being persuaded that our successes the next Campaign will depend much upon our early operations, and on our taking the Field with a respectable force. I am, etc.[29]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Saturday, January 17, 1778.

Parole Buckingham. Countersigns Boston, Brentwood.

Thomas Bradford Esquire is appointed Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners. His Quarters are at Mr. David Havard's the next house to the Marquis de-la-Fayettes.

[28] Parsons retired in July, 1782.

[29] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The Brigadiers and Officers commanding Brigades are to meet this evening at Genl. Varnum's Quarters to consult and agree upon proper and speedy measures to exchange raw-hides for shoes; They will as soon as possible critically review and examine into the State and condition of the Arms in their respective Brigades; get those out of repair put in order as soon as possible and consult upon the most speedy method of procuring a sufficient number of proper sized Bayonets to supply the deficiency thereof: The General desires that they will likewise agree upon the most proper and speedy measure to have all the Officers in their Brigades furnish'd with half Pikes agreeable to the General Order of the 22nd. of December last.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, January 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have received your favour of this morning containing an extract of a Letter written by Colonel Ramsey on behalf of the Field Officers at Wilmington. Their apology Sir, is sufficient to do away every thing disagreeable that has past on the subject and to induce me to attribute their incautious expressions to the causes which they mention.

You will communicate this to the Gentlemen by the first convenient opportunity and believe me to be, etc.[30]

To BARTRAM GALBRETH[31]

Head Quarters, January 17, 1778.

Sir: Mr. William Smith, is employed in the Continental Service as Deputy Waggon Master, Josiah Kittara as Waggon Conductor, William Smith Junior as Sub Conductor, and Thomas Edwards and Amos Evans as Waggoners, the Certificates of their being attached to the Continental Army in these

[30] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
[31] Lieutenant or sublieutenant of Lancaster County, Pa.

Capacities will be delivered to you by Mr. Wm. Smith, who goes in behalf of the rest, and as it cannot be the intention of the Legislature to treat persons of this description in the light of Delinquents, I have no doubt that upon receipt of this you will acquit them from the Fines to which they have hitherto been considered as subject under the Militia Act. I am, etc.[32]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Sunday, January 18, 1778.

Parole Connecticutt. Countersigns Concord, Conway.

At a Brigade Court-Martial held 12th. instant whereof Lt. Colo. Harmer[33] was President, Ensign Foster[34] of 6th. Pennsylvania Regiment having been found guilty of challenging Captn. Cruise[35] and behaving unbecoming the Character of an Officer and a Gentleman was sentenced to be discharged from the service;

The Commander in Chief in Conformity to the Articles of War approves the above sentence, but in consideration of Circumstances is pleased to restore Ensign Foster to his former Rank; At the same time He is sorry to observe that the dispute between the parties arose from a cause and was conducted in a manner that does neither of them much Honor.

As the Army is now in all probability stationary for the remainder of the winter it is necessary that the departments for supplying it with Provision and Forage should be put upon such a footing that as few delays and difficulties as possible may

[32] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[33] Lieut. Col. Josiah Harmar, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was transferred to the Seventh, Third, and First Pennsylvania Regiments, and made colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment in September, 1783.

[34] Ensign John Foster.

[35] Capt. Walter Cruise, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in June, 1778.

happen; In order to do this more effectually the most exact arrangment and disposition should be made of all the Waggons and horses employ'd in the service: The Commander in Chief therefore orders that all private Waggons and horses annexed either to Regiments or employed by Brigade Commissaries shall be delivered up on Monday and Tuesday next to the Quarter Master General at the Field next beyond the Adjutant General's Office. Those belonging to the first line on Monday and those belonging to the second line and the Artillery on Tuesday; and on Wednesday and Thursday next all the Waggons and horses the property of the United States annexed to the different Regiments or employ'd by the Commissaries of Brigades are also to be delivered up to the Quarter-Master General at the place and in the manner above directed; The whole to be then arranged and appropriated in such manner as the Quarter-Master and Forage Master General shall judge best calculated to supply the Army with Forage and Fuel and to perform other Camp Duties. A sufficient number of Waggons will be immediately returned to the Brigades for the service of the Camp while a more compleat Arrangement is making.

It having been represented by the Qr. Master General that a great number of saddle horses have been drawn at different times by Officers, Quarter Masters, Commissaries and Waggon-Masters for various services and never returned; The Commander in Chief expressly orders that such be return'd to the Quarter-Master General upon the day and at the place before mentioned, when he will allow such to retain them as appear to have a real necessity from their occupations, for their service.

A General Council of the Brigadier Generals and Officers commanding Brigades, in Obedience to Yesterday's orders have reported as follows.

1st. That the Commissaries of the respective Brigades retain their hides, Subject to the disposal of the Brigadier giving an account from time to time to the Commissary of hides.

That the Brigadiers for the present exigency send an Officer from each Brigade into the Country to exchange hides for shoes; Hide @ 4d pr. pound for Shoes at 10/ pr. pair, that the expence be defrayed by a draught upon the Quarter Master-General. That the Commanding Officers of Regiments give receipts to their respective Brigadiers who will deliver the Same to the Clothier General.

Second. That those Brigades which are furnish'd with Armourers and Tools have the Bayonets made in the Brigades; and that those who cannot procure Armourers and Tools purchase Bayonets from the Country Artificers in the best manner possible.

Third. That the Quarter Master General be directed to cause Espontons or Pikes made for the Officers, the Staff six feet and one half in length, and one inch and a quarter diameter in the largest part and that the iron part be one foot long.

The Commander in Chief accepts and approves the above Report and orders it to take place in every respect.

At a division Court Martial 15th. instant whereof Lt. Colo. Ballard[36] was President Captn. Lamberth[37] of 14th. Virginia Regt. tryed for Stealing a hat from Captn. Ellis[38] was found guilty and unanimously Sentenced to be cashiered, and deemed Scandalous in an officer to associate with him in future, and that his Crime, Name, Place of Abode and punishment be publish'd in and about Camp and in the News Papers of every State, particularly the State he belongs to, and that he pay

[36] Lieut. Col. Robert Ballard, of the First Virginia Regiment. He was transferred to the Fourth Virginia Regiment in September, 1778; resigned in July, 1779.

[37] Capt. George Lambert.

[38] Capt. Paul(?) Ellis, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment.

Captn. Ellis thirty dollars for the hat he stole of him, also the expences of the witnesses against him, and the expence of an express sent for the Witnesses which Shall be paid before he is released from his confinement.

The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON

Head Quarters, January 18, 1778.

Sir: As the time of Service of part of the Virginia Troops has already expired, and many more will shortly petition for discharges upon the same claim. It will be necessary for the Brigadiers and Commandants in that Line, to meet, and come to some determination with respect to the mode of doing it. I have therefore to request that you will take such steps, and precaution as will put it out of the power of any man to obtain dismission, who is not justly entitled to it, and that you will look forward to the number of Troops that will remain and the Officers necessary to command them. I am, etc.[39]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOSEPH ELLIS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 18, 1778.

Sir: I am glad to hear by yours of the 15th. instant, that you have been appointed to the Command of the Brigade late Newcomb's.[40] From the Character given of you by Genl. Greene, I have every reason to expect that nothing will be wanting on your part to excite a proper Spirit among the people, and to

[39] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The same letter was sent also to Brig. Gens. William Woodford, Peter Muhlenberg, and Charles Scott.

[40] Of New Jersey Militia.

give the most effectual opposition to any parties of the Enemy who may attempt to ravage your Coast. If the State has no Ammunition belonging to it, you must send an Officer to me, with an account of the Quantity wanting, and I will supply you. I think when the Army came from Morris Town, we left two Iron four pounders there belonging to Jersey. You will therefore send an Officer to inquire for them and to bring them down to you if he finds them there. But lest they should have been removed, I inclose you an Order on the Commissary of Military Stores at Allen Town in Northampton County, for two Iron four pounders with fixed Ammunition for them. You should inquire what is done with the light Iron Guns that were removed from Red Bank, if you can find any of them that will suit you, you had better get two of them fitted up and only send for the fixed Ammunition to suit them from Allen Town, this will save much trouble.

Altho it will be inconvenient to the Inhabitants of Burlington, Gloucester and Salem to remove their Stock back, I would still have you do it as effectually as possible, or the Enemy will certainly make a sweep of them one day or another. What are proper for Beef, the Commissaries will take off their hands and for the others I should think it would be in the power of every farmer to carry back some forage for them.

I have nothing to do with the appointment of the Staff in the Militia, more than of any other Officers, and therefore cannot interfere. I should suppose you had better yourself appoint persons who are suitable and get them confirmed by the Governor. I am, &ca.[41]

[41] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On January 18 Robert Hanson Harrison, by direction of Washington, replied to Capt. Henry Lee's letter, in which Lee reported that an officer of the Anspach regiment (German troops in Philadelphia) was willing to bring off 300 of them provided he was promised command of them. The General wished Lee to manage the matter very cautiously. Both Harrison's and Lee's letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PATTERSON[42]

Head Quarters, January 18, 1778.

Sir: General Knyphaussen having obtained a passport for Quarter Master Major Kitz to go to Fredericksburg in Virginia with a Serjeant and Servant and a Waggon with Clothing and necessaries for the Hessian Officers at that place; In order that the same may be safely conveyed, and that no irregularities may attend the execution of this Business, you are to proceed with all convenient expedition with the said Quarter Master Major Kitz, with the Clothes and necessaries he has in charge, by the most direct route to Fredericksburg, or to such other place or places as the Hessian Officers may be at. After he shall have executed his business, you are to return with him, and to make report of your arrival when you come within the neighbourhood of this Camp, that such further orders may be given respecting him as may be necessary.

You are to receive of the Pay Master General Two hundred Dollars, out of which you are to defray your own expences, and you are to keep an exact account of the same and to take proper Vouchers, that an account may be settled and adjusted on your return.[43]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 18, 1778.

Sir: I have the pleasure of observing, by a publication in Dunlaps Paper that before the adjournment of the General Assembly of this State they had among other wholesome Laws enacted one for "filling the quota of troops to be raised in this

[42] Of Grayson's Additional Continental regiment.
[43] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

State." As you may perhaps be ignorant of the reduced condition of your Regiments, I have thought proper to inclose you a Return by which you will see how very deficient they are at present as to the number required by the allotment. You will also perceive, by a note at the Bottom of the Return, how destitute the Men in the field are in point of Cloathing. I had sent out Officers from every Regiment to procure Cloathing for their Men, and they were collecting considerable quantities, when Colo. Bayard and Mr. Young, a Committee from the Assembly, waited upon me, and desired me to call in the Officers, informing me that they had appointed Commissioners in every County, to purchase necessaries for the Army, which would be a mode more agreeable to the inhabitants, than if done in a military way. What these Commissioners have gone, I do not know, but no Cloathing has yet come to the Army thro' their Hands. General Wayne informed me, that he understood it was collected and stored at Lancaster and he went up about ten days ago to inquire into the Matter.

It being recommended to every State to procure what Cloathing they can for their own Troops, I trust yours will not be backward. From the quantity of raw materials and the number of Workmen among your people, who being principled against Arms remain at home and Manufacture, I should suppose you have it more in your power to cover your Troops well, than any other State. The Continent will continue to import from abroad and to purchase on the General account what they can. I am therefore in hopes, that the exertions of the States, aided by foreign importations, will contribute to Cloath our Troops more comfortably and plentifully than they have heretofore been. But as there are so many impediments in the way of the latter kind of supply, I could wish that no great dependance

may be put upon it, but that we may rely principally upon our internal manufacture.

I shall be glad to be favoured with a Copy of the law for raising your quota of Men, and have the Honour, etc.[44]

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE READ[45]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 18, 1778.

Sir: I am in hopes that the legislature of your State have fallen upon some mode to fill up the Battalion alloted to it, against the ensuing Campaign. If they have not, I beg leave to remind you how short the time is from hence, to that, in which we ought to be in the Field. The advantages that will arise from our being able to begin our operations before the Enemy are reinforced are too obvious to need recapitulating and I have therefore wrote, in the most pressing Manner, to every State to endeavour to send their quota of Men as nearly compleat and as early as possible. The Regiment of your State is at present with Genl. Smallwood at Wilmington, and you will therefore be pleased to apply to him for a Return, from which you will see the deficiency in point of Numbers. If you should not have already adopted some mode of raising your Men, I think you will find it in vain to attempt to do it by any other means than those of drafting. I am told the State of Pennsylvania have passed a law to draft their Men; I have not seen it, but I am convinced, if the practice was universal that the people would not Complain.

It has been recommended by Congress to every State, to Cloath their own quota of Troops, as far as they may be able, and make it a continental Charge. I am certain that, with

[44] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[45] Of Delaware.

proper exertions, it may be done by the middle and northern States, very nearly by their own internal Manufacture; but lest that should not be sufficient, the Continental agents will continue to import and purchase from private Adventurers all kinds of Goods proper for the use of the Army.

Considering the many impediments that lay in the way of foreign importations we ought to put as little dependance as possible upon that source, especially for the Articles of Shoes and Stockings, of which there is the greatest consumption and for the want of a regular supply of which our Soldiers suffer amazingly.

I shall be glad to hear from you, as soon as convenient upon the above Subjects and have the honour, etc.[46]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Monday, January 19, 1778.

Parole Dunkirk. Countersigns Durham, Dublin.

At a Brigade Court-Martial held 7th. instant whereof Major Ryan[47] was President; Francis Morris a Soldier in 1st. Pennsylvania Regiment tried for repeated desertions was found guilty and unanimously sentenced to suffer death in Such manner as Shall be ordered by the Commander in Chief. His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the Sentence.

Provisions to be issued to the Troops up to next Thursday inclusive. Detachments sent upon Command, from the time of their marching no Provisions are to be drawn for them by the Regimental Quarter Masters 'till they return. The Brigade Majors will attend daily at the Adjt. Genls. quarters precisely at 12 oClock.

[46] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[47] Maj. Michael Ryan. He was brigade major to General Wayne until June, 1779; appointed major in the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment in October, 1777, which was deemed irregular, and he was superseded in May, 1778; captain in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment to rank from January, 1777; resigned in June, 1779; inspector general of Pennsylvania in 1780.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Tuesday, January 20, 1778.

Parole Finland. Countersigns Farnham, Fairfield.

The General Officers commanding Brigades are desir'd to meet at General Sullivan's Quarters tomorrow morning at ten o'Clock in order to consider of the expediency of opening a public Market in camp; They are to take into consideration the proper Places and days of holding markets, the regulations and guards necessary to preserve good order. The prices proper to be offered upon each article; in the Settlement of which they Should endeavor to consult Some of the most intelligent Country-men; Some plans that have been proposed will be laid before them at the time of meeting. A report of their proceedings to be Sent in to the Commander in Chief as soon as possible.

The Commander in Chief returns his warmest thanks to Captn. Lee and Officers and men of his Troop for the Victory which by their superior Bravery and Address they gain'd over a party of the Enemys dragoons, who trusting in their numbers and concealing their march by a circuitous road attempted to surprize them in their quarters; He has the Satisfaction of informing the Army that Captn. Lee's Vigilance baffled the Enemy's designs by judiciously posting his men in his quarters,[48] although he had not a Sufficient number to allow one for each window, he obliged the party consisting of two hundred, disgracefully to retire after repeated but fruitless attempts to force their way into the house, leaving two killed and four wounded without receiving any other damage on his part than having his Lieutenant Mr. Lindsay[49] slightly wounded unless any of his out-patroles should have been unfortunately Surrounded and taken which is not yet known.

[48] At Scott's farm, Darby, Pa.

[49] Lieut. William Lindsay. He was a captain in Lee's Legion in April, 1778; resigned in October, 1778.

The General positively forbids the burning of the Farmers Fences; He enjoins it upon all Officers to use their endeavours to prevent it and bring to severe punishment all those who shall offend herein.

A General Court Martial whereof Colo. Craige[50] is appointed President is to Sit at the President's Marqui to try Such Prisoners as Shall be bro't before them, belonging to Lord Stirling and General Wayne's Divisions. Major Church[51] a Captn. and two Subalterns from each Brigade in those divisions will compose the Court.

The Commander in Chief is informed that Captain Lee and Lieut. Lindsey had but a Corporal and four men to assist them in the manly Opposition against the British Light Horse. Major Jameson was accidently there and justly merits his Share of the Praises due to this brave little party.

*To CAPTAIN HENRY LEE

Valley Forge, January 20,[52] 1778.

My dear Lee: Altho I have given you my thanks in the general orders of this day, for the late instance of your gallant behaviour I cannot resist the Inclination I feel to repeat them again in this manner. I needed no fresh proof of your merit, to bear you in remembrance, I waited only for the proper time and season to shew it: these I hope are not far off. I shall also think of and will reward the merit of Lindsay when an opening presents as far as I can consistently, and shall not forget the corporal whom you have recommended to my Notice. Offer my sincere thanks to the whole of your gallant party and assure them that no one felt pleasure more sensibly, or rejoiced more sincerely for yours and their escape than Your Affectionate.

[50] Col. Thomas Craig, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in January, 1783.

[51] Maj. Thomas Church, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in January, 1781.

[52] Sparks prints this letter under date of January 21.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, January 20, 1778.

Sir: Your letter of the 8th. Instt. inclosing Lieut. Eyre's[53] representation was duly received. I am not at liberty to contradict the facts which he has related; but I am inclined to think, from his own state[ment], that his conduct has not been so discreet, as it should have been; and that if he experienced a severer treatment than had been usually imposed upon Officers, Prisoners with us, it proceeded in some measure, at least, from that cause. But were not this the case, If the insults and incivilities Mr. Eyre complains of having suffered, were even so unprovoked by him, tho' I wish not to justify them, yet I cannot forbear observing, that they are not to be wondered at, since the accounts generally received of the treatment of our Officers in your hands are replete with instances of the most flagrant indignities and even Cruelties.

Americans have the feelings of Sympathy, as well as other men. A series of injuries may exhaust their patience, and it is natural that the sufferings of their Friends in Captivity, should at length irritate them into resentment and to Acts of retaliation. If you suppose Mr. Eyre's representation to be just, and that he escaped from a rigorous confinement, under no obligation of parole, I cannot conceive upon what principle you still consider him my prisoner: But if you are of a different Opinion, I shall expect some Gentleman of ours in your possession, who was taken in a similar character, in return for him. He was reported to me, at the time of his capture, as a Volunteer, in which light I still view him.

The Officer you mention, did not attend the flag of truce with my knowledge or consent. His conduct was reprehensible, and I hope an instance of this sort will not happen again.

[53] Lieut. Thomas Eyre, of the Eighth Light Dragoons, British Army.

Mr. James Byard was taken prisoner near the Swedes Ford, the day your Army crossed the Schuylkill. He had just returned from College, and had no rank in, or connection with the Army. He is not to be considered as a prisoner of War, but as a Citizen, and as such his Friends will propose an exchange for him. I am, &ca.[54]

To CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD KENNEDY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I received yours of the 15th., last Evening. When I arrived at Morris Town last winter, you applied to me, thro' Col. Moylan, for liberty to remove from thence to your farm near second River: I consented to this, as I looked upon it as a thing more convenient to you, and more proper than for you to remain in Morris Town, under your particular circumstances. I considered you then, as I do now, a prisoner of the State, and do not therefore think myself at liberty to interfere in any determination which the Governor and Council may come to respecting your future place of Residence. I can only wish that your conduct may appear to have been so unexceptionable that there may be no occasion to remove you from your own House. I am, etc.[55]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Commission, by which you will find, that you are restored to the rank you claim in the line of the Army. This I transmit by direction of Congress and in pursuance of their Resolution of the 29th. of November.[56] The situation of my papers and the want of Blank Commissions prevented me doing it before.

[54] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[55] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[56] This commission is now in the *Washington Papers*.

May I venture to ask, whether you are upon your Legs again, and if you are not, may I flatter myself that you will be soon? There is none who wishes more sincerely for this event than I do, or who will receive the information with more pleasure. I shall expect a favourable account upon the subject. And as soon as your situation will permit, I request that you will repair to this Army, It being my earnest wish to have your Services the ensuing Campaign. In hopes of this, I have set you down in an Arrangement now under consideration, and for a Command which I trust will be agreeable to yourself and of great advantage to the public.[57]

I have nothing of importance to inform you of in the Military line, that is new or interesting. The Enemy still remain in possession of Philadelphia and have secured themselves by a strong chain of Redoubts, with Intrenchments of communication from Schuylkill to Delaware. We on our part have taken post on the West side of the former, about twenty miles from the City, and with much pains and industry have got the Troops tolerably well covered in Huts. We have to regret that we are not in more comfortable Quarters, but these could not be found unless we had retired to the Towns in the more interior part of the State; The consequences of which would have been, distress to the virtuous Citizens of Philadelphia, who had fled thither for protection, and the exposure of a considerable tract of fertile Country to ravage and ruin. I am, etc.[58]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

My Dear Sir: By the inclosed Copies of two Resolutions of Congress you will perceive that they have restored Genl. Arnold

[57] Arnold, with Lincoln, was then in Albany, N. Y., recuperating from the wound received at the Battle of Bemis Heights, Saratoga.

[58] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

to the rank he claims in the line of General Officers, and have directed me to grant him a Commission for that purpose. This I have done, and he will receive it by the conveyance by which this goes.

From your peculiar situation, and being one of the Officers within the operation of the Resolves, I have been induced to communicate the matter to you.[59] I am too sensible, My Dear Sir, of your disposition to justice and generosity, of your wishes to see every Man in the possession of his rightful claim, not to be convinced that you will chearfully acquiesce in a measure calculated for that end. In the instance before us, General Arnold is restored to a violated right, and the restitution I hope, will be considered by every Gentleman concerned, as I am sure it will by you, as an act of necessary justice.

May I hope that you are recovered of your wound, and if you are not, that you will be soon? There is none who wishes more sincerely for this event, than I do, or who will receive the information with more pleasure. I request that you will write me upon the Subject, and let your account be favourable and pleasing. As soon as your situation will permit, I shall be happy to see you, it being my earnest wish to have your Services the ensuing Campaign. In hope of this, I have set you down in an Arrangement now under consideration. . . .[60] I am, etc.[61]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have not yet received an answer respecting the Guard for the Salt Works Solicited in your Memorial. Till you

[59] Lincoln was then in Albany, N. Y., recovering from the wound received in the fighting around Saratoga.

[60] The omitted paragraph is practically the same as the last paragraph in the letter to Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold of the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[61] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

hear further from me upon the subject, you may detain a Captain, two subalterns and Sixty men of the detachment of your Regiment now in Monmouth, for the purpose of Guarding the works, the remainder be pleased to send forward to Camp with Captain Combes,[62] with whom be pleased to send the Cloathing of those men who are already here. I am, etc.[63]

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I received yours of the 13th. instant last Evening, and have immediately written to Govr. Livingston upon the Subject. I make no doubt but the prosecution will be immediately stopped upon my representation of the matter in its true light, and of my pointing out the impossibility of getting persons to undertake this kind of Business in future, if they are not protected by us. I am, &ca.[64]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of your several favors of the 9th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th instant. I am pleased to find that your legislature have fixed a price circumscribing the avarice of your farmers, who like their neighbours are endeavouring to take every advantage of the necessities of the Army. I have mentioned to Mr. Commissary Blaine[65] what you say respecting Wilson's[66] not having employed a Sufficient Number of Mills in his district. He will write to him and order him to extend

[62] Capt. John Combes (Combs), of Forman's Additional Continental regiment.
[63] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.
[64] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[65] Col. Ephraim Blaine.
[66] Robert Wilson, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases.

his business. I have also desired him to direct his Deputies in the Monmouth district, to purchase up that produce first which lays nearest the Coast. I am in hopes, that by the Activity of Genl. Ellis, who I am much pleased to find has superseded Newcomb, the Trade carried on from Jersey to Philadelphia will be put a stop to.

When I fixed the Head Quarters of the Army at Morris Town last Winter, I found Capt. Kennedy there, who I considered as a State Prisoner, but judging it improper that he should remain there, and finding that it would be more agreeable to him to remove to his own Farm, I agreed that he should go thither and took a parole from him, stipulating, to the best of my memory, as I have not the parole by me, that he should remain quietly there. I considered him then as I do now a State prisoner, and therefore do not think I have any right to interfere in the matter.

I am sorry that Troup has found means to escape to the Enemy, especially as he has confessed, by an account published by himself, that he was in Jersey upon a villainous design when taken. When you sent him down to me, I ordered a Court Martial to try him, but no sufficient evidence appeared to the Court to convict him. He lay in our provost Guard and was marched backwards and forward, till he was naked and almost eaten up with Filth and Vermin. Mr. Boudinot taking compassion upon his sufferings desired I would deliver him up to him, engaging either to detain him as a prisoner or to set him at liberty upon his taking the Oaths to the State, which he offered to do. I was induced to permit this, as I saw no chance of bringing him to a final trial, and he was perishing by inches. In what manner he made his escape I do not know.

I hope as you have got notice of a design against you, that you will be able to counterplot your Enemies and that they may fall into the snare which they intend for you. I am, etc.[67]

[67] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

P. S. I am making proper use of the hints given in yours of the 9th.[68]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I last night received a Letter from Colo. Dayton, informing me, that John and Baker Hendricks, and John Meeker had been apprehended upon a supposition of carrying on an illegal Correspondence with the Enemy, as they had been several times upon Staten Island and that they were to be tried for their lives in consequence.

In justice to these Men I am bound to take this earliest opportunity of informing you that they were employed by Colo. Dayton last Summer to procure intelligence of the movements of the Enemy while upon Staten Island, for which purpose I granted them passports, allowing them to carry small quantities of Provision, and to bring back a few Goods the better to cover their real designs. Colo Dayton acquaints me that they executed their trust faithfully; this I very well remember, that what intelligence he communicated to me and which he says, came principally thro' them, was generally confirmed by the Event. Upon these Considerations I hope you will put a stop to the prosecution, unless other matters appear against them. You must be well convinced, that it is indispensibly necessary to make use of these means to procure intelligence. The persons employed must bear the suspicion of being thought inimical, and it is not in their powers to assert their innocence, because that would get abroad and destroy the confidence which the Enemy puts in them. I have the honour, etc.[69]

[68] Livingston's letter of January 9 speaks of employing as a spy one Morseiles [*sic*], who was being urged by the British to establish a line of secret intelligence for them. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[69] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: I wrote to you the 15th., desiring you to have the Arms in Massachusetts and New Hampshire collected and a Return made to me as soon as possible. I find, by letters from Genl. Heath, that Arms have lately arrived in several Vessels from France, I beg they may be immediately sent to the different Arsenals and put in order. We shall want a considerable number in the Spring when the Levies come into the Field, and I therefore think that advantage should be taken of this Season of the Year, when the Roads are hard, to bring part of them forward to the Magazines on this side of Delaware. I do not know what number to order precisely, but you can form a pretty good Judgment, upon comparing the quantities that are already in the Magazines here with the number of Recruits that the Middle and southern States will probably send into the Field. It is true that many of the reduced Regiments have their old Arms, but when you consider the customary waste and the destruction made by the Militia, who I suppose we shall be under the necessity of calling out, we ought to have a Magazine of new Arms equal to the Levies, that there may not be any delays or difficulties on that account. I am, &ca.

P. S. Upon considering the usefulness of travelling forges more fully, since you went away I think it proper that each Brigade should be furnished with one, instead of each division.[70]

To JAMES MEASE

Head Quarters, January 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: I this day received yours of the 18th. by Lieutt. Gamble[71] who has brought down 463 Coats ready cut out. I

[70] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[71] Lieut. Robert Gamble, of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment. He was captain in March, 1778; taken prisoner at Camden, N. J., in August, 1780; retired in January, 1783.

could have wished that had not been done, as I intended to have had them made up in a new fashion which I think will save Cloth, be made up quicker and cheaper and yet be more warm and convenient to the Soldier. I desire that all the remainder of the Virginia Goods may be immediately sent on in the State which you receive them, as soon as they arrive at Lancaster. I will send you a Coat of the new fashion as soon as one can be made up, and I think it will be deemed most convenient and useful to dress the whole Army in the same manner.

The Officer who had the charge of the Convoy of Cloathing from Boston left them at Fishkill, contrary to Genl. Heath's express order, he makes some trifling excuse, that the Waggons would not come any farther. I have sent up an Express with orders to have it brought immediately forward.

I shall give directions to have some agreement made with the Taylors for their extra pay when working at their trade. Now we are fixed, I am of opinion that we can have any quantity of Cloathing made up in the Regiments provided all the materials are sent with them. If the Taylors are drawn from the Army and sent to a distance, they will most certainly find means of going off, and the Service will lose so many men. Besides we cannot at this time spare the Men from Camp.

I beg you will exert yourself in procuring Shoes, it is evident that any quantities may be got by contracting to pay for them in Hides. The price fixed by the General Officers is 4d. pr. [piece] for Hides and Shoes at 10/ pr. pair. With this the Shoemakers are content, and several of the Brigadiers have made contracts accordingly. I am, &ca.

P. S. Lieutt. Gamble returns to bring down the remainder of the Goods. He informs me that he desired you not to cut up the Cloth, as it was intended to be made up different from the usual method, I cannot therefore tell why it was done.[72]

[72] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, January 21, 1778.

Parole Edenton. Countersigns Easton, Edinburgh.

The Commander in Chief approves the report made by the Brigadiers and Officers commanding Brigades in the Virginia Line and orders that the men whose term of service is expired be discharged and march'd home by proper Officers in the manner there directed; The Brigadiers &c. are also to see that the Arms and Accoutrements of such men are return'd in the first instance to themselves in Order that the Arms and discharges may correspond, and by them to the Commissary of Military Stores whose receipt is to be taken for what is delivered; All blankets are to be stoped and other Articles belonging to the Publick. The Brigadiers &c. will cause proper care to be taken of the first and see that the latter is delivered in to the hands of the Qr. Master General and other proper officers.

Notwithstanding the pointed and frequent orders which have issued to have all deserters reported to Head-Quarters it is by indirect and casual information, that this knowledge comes to the General (except in the general returns) which are exceedingly irregular. He therefore in peremptory terms now calls upon the Brigadiers to see or know that the rolls of their several Regiments are call'd over agreeable to former orders, and that all deserters (specifying the Regiment and Company they belong to) are reported by them to the Major General of the day, who is to present the whole in one view to the Commander in Chief when he comes from his Tour of duty. The Brigadiers are also requested to use every possible means to apprehend deserters of their respective Brigades; This order will not be dispensed with.

The General also in positive terms declares that he will have a general return of the Army delivered in to him every Monday

at orderly-time. The Adjutant General is therefore to pay particular attention to this matter and consider himself responsible for the performance unless he arrests every Delinquent who causes the failure: In the next Mondays return, the officers in the Virginia Line are to ascertain the number of men whose term of service will expire shortly.

It being impossible for the Surgeons of the Flying Hospital to make effectual provision for the sick out of Camp, unless they are sent to the places by them appointed and furnish'd for the purpose; All officers and regimental surgeons when any of their Corps are proper subjects for the Hospital are therefore immediately to apply to the Chief Surgeon of the Flying Hospital present in Camp and take his direction where to Send their Sick: A contrary practice has been attended with great inconvenience to the sick and probably occasioned the Death of Several men; many having been Sent to Hospitals already crowded with patients, or to places where no provision had been made for the sick, and in order that the sick, which shall from time to time remain in Camp, as well as others before they are sent to Hospitals may be properly taken care of; the Director General of the Hospitals is, as soon as possible to furnish the Regimental Surgeons with Medicine Chests supplied with such Medicines as are necessary for the sick in Camp. When Flags go to the Enemys lines all officers are positively forbidden to go with them unless they rceeive proper orders therefor.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Clark was President held January 19th. Lieutenant McGibbons[78] of 4th. North Carolina Battalion tried for embezzling or misapplying the money with which he was intrusted for enlisting men into the service, also for taking bribes to discharge inlisted soldiers from the service was unanimously acquitted of the charges.

[78] Lieut. Patrick McGibbons.

At the Same Court held January 15th. Captn. Joshua Brown[74] of Colo. Bigelow's Regiment tried for Suffering two prisoners to escape from the Provost-Guard was unanimously acquitted of the charges exhibited against him. The Commander in Chief approves the Sentences and orders them to be immediately released from their Arrests.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: An Officer of Genl. Glovers Brigade arrived here Yesterday and informs me that he left twelve Waggons load of Cloathing at that place, which he had under his charge from Boston with directions to bring it on to this Army. He alledges in excuse for leaving it, that the Waggons would not come any further, but it does not appear that he took any pains to procure others. The Army being in the greatest distress for the Articles, I have sent an express purposely to the Deputy Cloathier at Fishkill to send them on, and I desire that the Qr. Master may immediately furnish Waggons. I hope the packages have none of them been broken. If they have not, I beg they may not, as near 4000 of our men are rendered unfit for duty for want of the very Articles contained in them.

If there should be any small detachments belonging to any of the Northern Troops now here, let the Cloathing be sent under their Escort. I am, etc.[75]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favor of the 6th and 8th. instants. I particularly alluded to Henley's, Lee's and Jackson's Regiments

[74] Of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
[75] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

when I expressed my surprise that they had not been innoculated, as they had lain so long in Boston. I hope that very strict attention will be paid to that matter against the next Campaign. We find upon a scrutiny, that there are upwards of Two thousand Men to be innoculated in Camp at this time.

I have given the adjutant General the Resolve of your Council, but he tells me that he does not think it will be in the powers of the Colonels to make such a return as is called for. Few of them have their Papers with them, and some of these who were at Ticonderoga lost them. In my next I shall be able to inform you whether it can be done. Some little time past I sent the President of the Council an exact return of such of their Troops as are under my immediate Command for their Government in compleating their Levies.

You will I suppose before this time have received orders from Congress respecting the delaying the embarkation of Genl. Burgoyne and his Army till the Convention is ratified by Great Britain.

By this Step Genl. Burgoyne will more than probable look upon himself as released from all former Ties, and consequently at liberty to make use of any means to effect an escape. I would therefore have you increase the vigilance and, if necessary the Strength of your Guards. All magazines of Arms should be removed from Boston and the Neighbourhood, for if any attempt is made, it must be by first seizing upon Arms to force their way.

I cannot think with you, that the operations of the next Campaign will be against New England, except the Enemy are much more strongly reinforced than I think they have any chance of being. They know the unanimity and Spirit of the people too well to attempt it by detachment, and should they send a considerable Body from Philadelphia, they must either remain beseiged in the Town, which would be ignominious, or risque a

defeat should they come into the Field with inconsiderable Numbers. The Troops, which went back from Philadelphia to New York, were I believe only intended for the security of that City. The Garrison was so small after the reinforcement had been sent to General Howe, that the Inhabitants complained much of their being abandoned, and the Troops were returned to quiet them. This being merely matter of opinion, it should not relax your endeavours to perfect the necessary defences of the Harbour and to fix upon signals which may at all times alarm the Country upon any sudden invasion.

If any good Sealing Wax is to be procured in Boston, be pleased to direct a dozen pound to be purchased for me and send on at different times as opportunities offer. I am, &ca.[76]

To COLONEL WALTER STEWART

Head Quarters, January 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with yours of the 18th. I should have answered you by return of your Officer but he omitted to call upon me. I spoke to Mr. Blaine, Commissary of purchases respecting the insufficiency of his Deputies. He promised to go over himself or send a proper person to assist you and to keep them to their duty.

I am amazed at the report you make of the quantity of provision that goes daily into Philadelphia from the County of Bucks. I must beg you to look into this matter and endeavour to find out whether it proceeds from the remissness of our Guards or whether any of our Officers connive at it. This latter has been hinted to me.

I am told that Genl. Lacey,[77] who succeeds Genl. Potter, is an active Officer and well acquainted with all the Roads of that

[76] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[77] Brig. Gen. John Lacey, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

Country; if any particular mode of cutting off this pernicious intercourse strikes you, be pleased to communicate it to him. The property taken, with the Horses and Carriages that transport it, should be seized without distinction, and if any of the persons are proper objects to make examples of, it must be done. They have had sufficient warnings and cannot therefore plead ignorance in excuse of their crime. I am, etc.[78]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 23, 1778.

Sir: Inclosed you will receive Copies of Letters in favor of Messieurs de la Neuville[79] from the Marechal Merlet and the Marquis de Bouilly[80] to me, together with a Certificate signed by the Baron de Wurmser; all my knowledge of these Officers who are solicitous of employment in the American Service is derived from these papers and what I have seen of them during their Stay in Camp; the manners and appearance of these Gentlemen give a prepossession in their favor and seem to confirm the Recommendations which they bring. I have the honor, etc.[81]

To REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON

January 23, 1778.

I have attended to your information and remark, on the supposed intention of placing General L——,[82] at the head of the army: whether a serious design of that kind had ever entered into the head of a member of C——[83] or not, I never was at the

[78] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

[79] Chev. de la Neuville. He was inspector general of the Northern Department in May, 1778; brevet brigadier general Aug. 14, 1778.

[80] François Claude Amour, Marquis de Bouillé, lieutenant general of the French Army, and later governor general of the French Windward Islands.

[81] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[82] Gen. Charles Lee.

[83] Congress.

trouble of enquiring. I am told a scheme of that kind is now on foot by some, in behalf of another gentleman, but whether true or false, whether serious, or merely to try the pulse, I neither know nor care;[84] neither interested nor ambitious views led me into the service, I did not solicit the command, but accepted it after much entreaty, with all that diffidence which a conscious want of ability and experience equal to the discharge of so important a trust, must naturally create in a mind not quite devoid of thought; and after I did engage, pursued the great line of my duty, and the object in view (as far as my judgement could direct) as pointedly as the needle to the pole. So soon then as the public gets dissatisfied with my services, or a person is found better qualified to answer her expectation, I shall quit the helm with as much satisfaction, and retire to a private station with as much content, as ever the wearied pilgrim felt upon his safe arrival in the Holy-land, or haven of hope; and shall wish most devoutly, that those who come after may meet with more prosperous gales than I have done, and less difficulty. If the expectation of the public has not been answered by my endeavours, I have more reasons than one to regret it; but at present shall only add, that a day may come when the public cause is no longer to be benefited by a concealment of our circumstances; and till that period arrives, I shall not be among the first to disclose such truths as may injure it.[85]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 23, 1778.

Dear Sir: As I have not received any answer to mine of the 13th. instant, I am at a loss how to give you further directions respecting the Sale or distribution of the Symetry's Cargo. My

[84] The Conway Cabal.

[85] The text was communicated to the *Monthly Magazine, or British Register*, by Rev. William Gordon. It is printed in vol. 9, p. 545.

reason for putting a stop to it was upon seeing what was certainly a very inequitable mode, upon several accounts, of conducting the Business, as appeared by a plan drawn up by the Field Officers. In the first place, the Staff were in a great measure excluded from purchasing, and as a credit of four or five Months was to be allowed, the Soldiers and noncommissioned Officers must of course have waited till the expiration of the Credit, before they could receive their dividend. Besides, by the Death, Resignation, or dismission of an Officer, if great care was not taken, the debt would be lost. For this reason, whether the Goods are disposed of by open sale, or delivered out at a valuation, the Officer who purchases more than the Amount of his share, should immediately pay the surplus. If these matters are put upon a proper and equitable footing, I have no objection to the sale or distribution's going on. I would only desire, that the person who acts as Vendue Master, may not make a final distribution of the money arising from the Sale until the determination of Congress is known respecting the property.

Inclosed you have a letter for Mr. Read president of the Delaware State, upon the Subject of filling up their Regiment. I have desired him to call upon you for an exact Return of their present Strength, that he may know what number of New Levies are wanting to complete it. Be pleased to forward the letter to him with the Return, and continue to press him on this Subject.

The Enemy made an attempt to surprise Captn. Lee a few days ago, in which they failed, but upon their return they took two Waggons, which were said to be coming from Wilmington. This makes me apprehensive that they might have been those, which Colo. Moylan informed me you were sending up with some things for me. I shall be happy to find it otherwise.

A few days ago I received a very polite letter from Doctor Boyes[86] Surgeon of the 15th. Regiment, British, requesting me

[86] Robert Boyes, surgeon of the Fifteenth Foot, British Army.

to return him some valuable Medical Manuscripts taken in the Brig Symetry. He says they are packed in a neat kind of portable library and consist of Doctr. Cullen's lectures on the institutions of Medicine, 18 Volumes. Cullen's lectures on the practice of Medicine 39 or 40 Volumes. Monroe's anatomical lectures 8 Volumes and Doctr. Black on Chemistry 9 Volumes, the whole in octavo. If they can be found, I beg that they may be sent up to me, that I may return them to the Doctor. I have no other view in doing this, than shewing our Enemies that we do not war against the Sciences. I am, etc.[87]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN LACEY, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, January 23, 1778.

Sir: I received your favour dated the 21st. Instant and must request that you will exert yourself to fulfil the intention of keeping a body of Troops in the Country where you are posted. Protecting the Inhabitants is one of the ends designed, and preventing supplies and intercourse with the Enemy is the other, this, perhaps with the utmost vigilance cannot be totally effected. But I must intreat you to take every step, that may render it possible. As to the reduction of your Numbers, I wish you to make timely application to the President of your State, to keep up the necessary force under your Command.

I am well informed that many Persons, under pretence of furnishing the Inhabitants of German Town and near the Enemy's Lines, afford immense supplies to the Philadelphia Markets, a conduct highly prejudicial to us and contrary to every order. It is therefore become proper to make an example of some guilty one, that the rest may be sensible of a like Fate should they persist. This I am determined to put into

[87] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The original is in the possession of William Williams, of New York, to whose courtesy the editor is indebted for the text. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, also by Tilghman, varies slightly from the letter sent.

execution, and request you when a suitable object falls into your hands, that you will send him here, with the witnesses, or let me know his name, when you shall have a power to try, and if found guilty to execute; this you'll be pleased to make known to the people, that they may again have warning.

Your want of Whiskey I cannot remedy, we are in the same situation here, and nothing effectual can be done, until the arrival of the Committee of Congress, whom we expect every day. I am, etc.

P. S. You will strive to suffer no more provision to go into German Town, but what is absolutely necessary for its Inhabitants.[88]

To JAMES WILSON

Head Quarters, January 23, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 11th Instant. Captain Smith obtained leave of Absence some time ago, and I understand is gone to Baltimore. If upon your Writing to him, he will return to Carlisle, he has my permission to remain with you a short time, for the Settlement of your Business.[89] I am, etc.[90]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Friday, January 23, 1778.

Parole Ganges. Countersigns Groton, Goshen.

The General Officers and Officers commanding Brigades will meet tomorrow morning at ten o'Clock at Genl. Sullivan's quarters for the purpose mention'd in general orders 20th. instant. Serjeant Howe is appointed Provost-Marshal P. T. *vice* Captain Snag[91] who has resigned.

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[88] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[89] Wilson was then at Carlisle, Pa.

[90] From a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress, stated to have been made from the original in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1892.

[91] See General Orders, Feb. 15, 1777, *ante*, where Snagg is appointed provost marshal and there called a sergeant.

The Brigadiers and Officers commanding Brigades are immediately to make returns of the Deficiency of Bayonets in their respective brigades to the Adjutant General.

As Several Farmers have complain'd that notwithstanding the Certificates granted by the Commissary General of Forage, of their having furnish'd the quotas of Forage assign'd them further demands have been made upon them so as to deprive them of what was reserved for the use of their own Families. The General strictly forbids such unjust proceedings and desires that more respect may be paid to the Forage Master General's Certificate for the future.

At a General Court-Martial whereof Colo. Clark was President Jany. 20th. Lt. Colo. Linley[92] and Major Bailey[93] tried for nonattendance on the grand-parade in proper time; the former when Field Officer and the latter when Brigade Major of the day, found guilty of the Charge exhibited agst them, being a breach of Article 5th. section 18th. of the Articles of War and Sentenced to be publickly reprimanded in General orders.

The General approves the sentence and is surprized that he is under the disagreeable necessity of reprimanding officers for a breach of duty so well known and which ought to be performed with the greatest punctuality; And as exact discipline and the strictest obedience to orders is the Soul of an Army and foundation of success, whilst the contrary may be productive of the most fatal consequences, He flatters himself that every officer in future (as in honor and duty bound) will be emulous to pay the strictest attention to orders and prove exemplary to the soldiery.

[92] Lieut. Col. Eleazer Lindsley, of Spencer's Additional Continental regiment. He resigned in May, 1779.

[93] Maj. Hodijah Baylies(?), aide to General Lincoln. He was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; lieutenant colonel and aide to Washington from May, 1782, to December, 1783.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 24, 1778.

Sir: I have reced. your favor of the 8th. inst. and that of Mr. Nourse[94] of the 16th. Upon the receipt of yours some time ago, Upon the Subject of the Leather in the Vatts at Germantown, I made enquiry and was told then as I am now, that, except that which is fit to put into the Curriers hands is immediately worked up, and that which is not Sufficiently tanned is shifted into other Vatts, that it will be undoubtedly spoiled. As I had no person to superintend this Business I did not think it worth while to remove the leather, when there would have been almost an absolute certainty of its being ruined. I have seen nothing of Capt. Ming, but if you will order him down, and he will prepare some Tanneries, at a convenient distance back from Germantown to receive the leather, I will furnish a proper party and endeavour to bring it off. The less that is said of this matter, the better, as it must be executed with Secrecy and dispatch. You certainly must be misinformed, as to the quantity of leather in Germantown or Captain Ming's consumption must be much less than I imagined. Those Tanyards at the lower end of the Town, may probably be out of our reach, without risquing too much. I think the plan of having some Boats upon Susquehannah a very good one. Altho' the Army may not have occasion to pass, yet they will very much expedite the passage of the Supplies which we shall probably have occasion to draw from the West Side of that River next Campaign. Genl Mifflin, who had those built which we used upon Delaware, is well acquainted with the proper kinds.

The demand of the return of Messrs. Wallace and Philipse, agreeable to the term of their parole, comes in my opinion more

[94] Joseph Nourse, deputy secretary of the Board of War.

directly under cognizance of the State of New York, whose Prisoners they are. They have several times exchanged Flags, with the Governor of the City of New York on the Subject of their State prisoners, and I think they may with more propriety make a peremptory demand of those Gentlemen, except they will exchange Mr. Fell[95] for one of them, than I can. It is more than probable that the State may have some of the Friends of the Crown in their Custody, and if they threaten retaliation upon them, it will have more effect than my writing to Genl. Howe, who, to the best of my knowledge, said he had nothing to do with them when they were demanded by Governor Trumbull. Would it not be proper to write to Govr. Clinton, and know from him in what light the Gentlemen above mentioned are considered by the State? I have, &c.

January 25.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing I have recd a letter from Genl. Heath of the 6th in which he says.

I have sounded what your Excellency observed with respect to Genl. Hamilton. Genl. Burgoyne informs me, that he never heard Genl. Hamilton hint any such desire, but whether he should be exchanged or not, he must go to England, as his Regiment is one of those under the Convention and he is a General Officer *only* in America. I shall again sound the matter with Genl Hamilton with all due caution.[96]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 24, 1778.

Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 14th instant and am much obliged for your promised attention to the compleating of your Regiments, and I hope your exertions will be attended with the desired success. I am also to thank you for your care

[95] John Fell, New Jersey Delegate to the Continental Congress.

[96] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, and is addressed to Richard Peters, secretary of the Board of War.

in providing Cloathing for your Troops. If the Coats should not be cut out before this reaches you, instead of the usual Regimental Coat, I would recommend a garment of the pattern of the Sailors Sea Jacket, this sets close to the body and by buttoning double over the breast, adds much to the Warmth of the Soldier. There may be a small cape and cuff of a different colour to distinguish the Corps. I have consulted most of the Officers of the Army and they all seem to think that this kind of Coat will be much the best, at least till we can fall upon means of procuring full supplies of compleat Uniforms. As the Overall is much preferable to Breeches, I would recommend as many of them as possible. We cannot spare Taylors to go from hence, therefore if you cannot get all the Clothes readily made up, I think you had better send part of the Cloth here with all kinds of necessary trimmings and the Regimental Taylors will soon make them up under the inspection of their Officers.

The Transports that have lately arrived at Rhode Island went from Philadelphia; they were empty, and were taken away by Lord Howe to secure them during the Winter, as the Port of Philadelphia was so crowded that had any part of the fleet taken fire the whole would probably have been consumed.

Nothing has been wanting upon my part, to procure the release of our prisoners upon just and equitable terms.[97] Congress are fully possessed of all the Letters that have ever passed between Genl Howe and myself, upon the subject of exchange and they have been pleased to approve of the Steps I have from time to time taken. If they should think it most conducive to the general Good, to settle this unhappy dispute upon his terms, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce, for nothing can be

[97] At this point in the draft the following is crossed out: "To submit to the unjust claims of General Howe, would relieve those at present in captivity; but it would in my opinion afford him too much encouragement, if he should ever again get a large number of our men in his possession, first to reduce them to death's door, and then turn them out upon parole in such a condition that few would ever reach home and none ever recover."

more distressing to me, than to receive daily applications from the friends of those in captivity and not have it in my power to afford them redress. I am, &ca.[98]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER

Head Quarters, January 24, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 7th. Instt., has this day come to my hand, inclosing a return of the force of the Enemy at Rhode Island. I have for some time understood that Lord Howe sailed for Rhode Island with more than 100 Transports in order to winter there, which must be those mentioned by you. I am concerned to find that the want of Money in that Department, has put you to so many inconveniencies, and that the prices of the necessary Articles there, have become so exceedingly high, which must be the Source of infinite difficulties. This proceeds from the great depreciation of our Currency and the avarice of the people and not from a real scarcity of many Essential Articles.

I hope the Tax recommended by Congress will be collected in the several States, and that our Money will become more valuable. Nothing will place it on a more respectable footing, than lessening the Quantity. I am, &ca.[99]

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Valley Forge, January 24, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with yours of the 13th. Instt. I hope you will determine without delay, whether you will

[98] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[99] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald and Robert Hanson Harrison.

On January 24 Fitzgerald wrote, by direction of Washington, to Col. Edward Stevens, of the Tenth Virginia Regiment, declining to accept his resignation unless Congress consented. It seemed to have become the practice for officers, when leave of absence was refused them, to send in their resignations. This was the case with Stevens. His resignation was accepted by Congress on January 31. He subsequently became a brigadier and major general of Virginia Militia and was wounded at Guilford Court House, N. C., in March, 1781.

accept the appointment of Auditor,[1] and if you do, that you will repair as soon as you possibly can to the Army, to enter upon the duties of it. An office of this nature has been long thought expedient, and for want of it, I am persuaded, the public have suffered greatly as well as Many individuals. There is a great number of accounts such as recruiting &ca. now to be taken up and adjusted. I doubt not but your powers will be defined. This will be exceedingly material that you may meet no Impediment when you enter upon the business.

I am much obliged by your polite tender of Services and am, etc.[2]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters at the V. Forge, January 24, 1778.

Parole Haverstraw. Countersigns Hampton, Harlem.

Three days provision to be issued to the troops on Mondays and four days provision on Thursdays 'till further orders.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters at the V. Forge,
Sunday, January 25, 1778.

Parole Indostan. Countersigns Ireland, India.

At a Brigade Court-Martial whereof Lt. Colo. Ballard was President, Jany. 10th. Captn. Zane[3] of 13th. Virginia Regt. tried for acting in a cowardly manner when sent on a scouting party 12th. December last by ordering his men to retreat when he had a considerable advantage over the Enemy, found guilty and sentenc'd to be discharged from the service. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately. No Officer is subject to be tried by a

[1] For the Continental Army.

[2] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It varies from the draft in spelling and capitalization only.

[3] Capt. Silas Zane.

Brigade Court Martial unless he consents thereto which is to be noted in the proceedings of the Court.

As it is necessary the Muster Rolls should be accurately made in one form the officers are to make them out agreeable to the forms given them for that purpose by the Mustering Officers.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

January 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday favoured with your Letter of 13th. Instt. inclosing a return of those taken from Colo. Webbs and Ely's Regiments.[4]

I begin to be very apprehensive that the Season will entirely pass away, before any thing material will be done for the defence of Hudson's River. You are well acquainted with the great necessity there is for having the works there finished, as soon as possible, and I most earnestly desire, that the strictest attention may be paid to every matter which may contribute to finishing and putting them in a respectable State before the Spring.

I wish you had not waited for returns of the Militia to furnish me with a state of the troops in that Quarter, and if you do not get them in, before you receive this, you will please let me have an Accurate return of the Continental troops alone, it being absolutely necessary that I should know the Strength of your command as soon as possible.

I congratulate you on the success of your two little parties against the Enemy, which I dare say will prevent their making so extensive excursions for some time at least. One circumstance however I cannot avoid taking notice of, that our Officers who have been but a very short time in the Enemy's hands, reap the advantages of any Captures which happen to be made by us, this must not be practised in future, as it is the height of

[4] Webb's Additional Continental regiment and Ely's Connecticut Militia regiment had lost men in an unfortunate attempt on Long Island in December, 1777.

Injustice, and will (if continued) draw upon us the just censure of the Officers who have been for a long time suffering all the Rigors of a Severe Captivity. The proper mode of proceeding is, to deliver them into the Hands of the Commissary of Prisoners, who must be best acquainted with the propriety of complying with the Claims of our Officers in their hands.

I shall represent your Situation in the Money way, to the Paymaster Genl. and order such measures to be taken as may relieve you. I am, etc.[5]

To COLONEL LEWIS LA RADIERE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 25, 1778.

Sir: I have your favour of the 13th. instant. As the Majority of the Council were for erecting the new works upon West Point, in preference to the place upon which Fort Clinton was built, I desire that they may be carried on with all dispatch. If we remain much longer disputing about the proper place, we shall lose the Winter, which is the only time that we have to make preparations for the reception of the Enemy. I am afraid, if you leave the Works to come down here, that matters will not go on properly in your absence, for I should imagine that the Eye of the Engineer is constantly wanting over Men not used to such Business. I have not yet seen Genl. Duportail, but whatever he lays before me for my decision, I shall endeavour to determine with impartiality. I am, etc.[6]

[5]The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. Putnam's reply to this letter, dated Feb. 13, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It is printed, in part, as a footnote to Washington's letter in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*.

[6]The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On January 20 Lieut. Col. François Louis Teisseydre, Marquis de Fleury, of the Engineers, wrote to Lieut. Col. John Laurens of his disappointment in not being able to set fire to the British shipping in the Delaware by means of "sulphured shirts," because the river was not frozen over. He sent also a memorandum of observations on the British shipping and proposed an attempt against them by fire rafts. This proposal Washington authorized through a letter from Laurens to Fleury (January 25), but the scheme was not, however, carried out. Both of these letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarter's, Monday, January 26, 1778.

Parole Lexington. Countersigns Lincoln, Louden.

A board of General Officers having recommended that a Sutler be appointed in each Brigade whose liquors shall be inspected by two officers appointed by the Brigadier for that purpose and those liquors sold under such restrictions as shall be thought reasonable. The Commander in Chief is pleased to approve of the above recommendation and to order that such Brigade Sutler be appointed, and liquors sold at the following prices and under the following regulations: Peach brandy by the quart at 7/6; by the Pint 4/, by the Gill 1/3. Whiskey and Apple brandy at 6/ pr. quart, 3/6 pr. pint and 1/ by the gill. Cyder at 1/3 by the quart; Strong beer 2/6 by the quart. Common beer 1/ by the quart. Vinegar 2/6 by the quart. Any Sutler who shall be convicted before a Brigade Court-Martial of having demanded more than the above rates, or of having adulterated his liquors or made use of deficient Measures shall forfeit any quantity of his liquors not exceeding 30 gallons or the value thereof at the foregoing rates. The fourth part of the liquor or the value thereof, so forfeited, to be applied to the benefit of the Informer and the remainder, if liquor to be put into the hands of a person appointed by the Brigadier who shall deliver it out to the non-commissioned officers and Privates of the Brigade at one gill pr. man, pr. day; if money, the same to be laid out in liquors or necessaries for the non-commission'd officers and privates of the brigade, and distributed in due and equal proportion.

The brigade sutler is also at liberty to sell leaf tobacco at 4/ pr pound; Pigtail at one dollar pr. pound and hard soap at

2/ pr pound; but no other articles rated for the public market shall be sold by him or any person acting under him on any pretence whatever.

Lieutenant Sugars[7] of the German Battn. tried by a brigade Court-Martial for challenging Lt. Laudermilk[8] of the same Battalion is found guilty of a breach of 7th. Section of the Articles of War and therefore sentenced to be cashiered.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence but in consideration of the recommendation of the Court is pleased to restore him to his rank, hoping at the same time that His Lenity in this and some other particular Instances will not be construed into his giving countenance to a practice, not only directly repugnant to our own Articles of War but discouraged by all Military Nations as subversive of good order, discipline and harmony.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Valley Forge, January 26, 1778.

Sir: I this Evening received a Letter from Lt. Colo. Smith at Lancaster, advising me of the confinement of the British Officers, who were going with the Cloathing and medicine for the Prisoners in our hands.

This measure I consider as rather unfortunate, as they came out by my permission and in consequence of a Stipulation between myself and General Howe.

The Officers are a Hessian and British Regimental Quarter Master and a Doctor and two Mates. They had passports signed by one of my Aids, who met them at our most advanced post and were attended by a Captain and Lieutenant of our Army. Mr. Boudinot, I am persuaded, was mistaken in his representation

[7] Lieut. Martin Shugart. He retired in January, 1781.
[8] Lieut. Jacob Laudermilk. He resigned in April, 1778.

respecting General Howe's forbidding any more Provisions being sent in by Water, as the only information he had, was derived from a postscript in a Letter from him to me. Vizt.

A Sloop with flour has been received yesterday Evening for the use of the Prisoners here, but I am to desire, that no more flags of Truce may be sent by water, either up or down the River, without leave being previously obtained.

As to Cloathing, I have no doubt but Genl Howe has denied us the liberty of purchasing. This is now a subject of difference between us, and the design of our insisting that he shall victual his Troops in our hands by a certain day is to oblige him to consent to that measure. But it should not, in my Opinion, prevent him sending Cloathes to the Prisoners, especially as he had obtained my consent for the same, so long ago, as the last day of November, in consideration of his Assurances to permit a Commissary of Ours to go into Philadelphia with necessaries for our People in his hands. Matters being thus circumstanced and the conclusion of your Letter to Colo. Smith, directing the Officers to be secured till farther orders, either from the Board of War or from me, I have written to him to release and permit them to pursue their route. I have the honor, etc.[9]

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, January 26, 1778.

Sir: I have received your two Letters of 20th. and 25th. Jany. The latter was communicated to the Forage Master, whose answer you will find annexed. I can only repeat, what has been already written on the subject, that if the Cavalry can procure a sufficiency of forage at the quarters first assigned them, that

[9] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and is addressed to Major General Gates, president of the Board of War, at York, Pa.

situation is to be prefered, otherwise they must undoubtedly retire to the nearest place where this indispensable article can be obtained.

I have no objection to Captn. Craig's[10] taking the command of the Lance Men; you do not mention whether the matter has been proposed to himself and whether he is willing to accept it.

With respect to having the prices of Articles necessary for the Cavalry rated, as it is a matter intirely of civil cognizance, it can only be done by the authority of the State. The scarcity of Rum is so great, that the Infantry can only have it dealt to them on certain occasions; your men must therefore content themselves till times of greater plenty. Your Officers complain that the Cavalry undergo severer duty now, than they did while they were in Camp. As rest and refreshment are two of the principal objects of your removal from Camp, I hope you will by proper arrangements give your Men and Horses an opportunity of reaping these benefits from their Winter Quarters.

There is a large Supply of Carabines arrived, at one of the Eastern ports, and orders have been given to bring forward a sufficient number to furnish the Cavalry. I am, &ca.

P. S. With this you will receive a Letter for Princeton which you will forward.[11]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge,
Tuesday, January 27, 1778.

Parole Kensington. Countersigns Kingston, Kimbolton.

Any Articles to be sent in to our prisoners in Philadelphia must be left with the Commissary of prisoners Friday evening

[10] Capt. John(?) Craig, of the Fourth Continental Dragoons.
[11] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

next. Paper to be issued by the Quarter-Master General in the following proportions 2 quire to each Brigadier or officer commanding a brigade, 1 to each Brigade Major and six to each Regiment.

Ammunition to be drawn immediately to complete the troops to forty rounds pr. man which is to be deposited in the hands of the Brigade Quarter Masters to be ready when called for.

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Valley Forge, January 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I last Night received your favor of the 30th. Ultimo. It gave me great pleasure to hear that you were released from your confined situation and permitted so many indulgences. You may rest assured, that I feel myself very much interested in your welfare, and that every exertion has been used on my part to effect your exchange. This I have not been able to accomplish. However, from the Letters which have lately passed between Sir William Howe and myself upon the subject of Prisoners, I am authorized to expect that you will return in a few days to your Friends on parole, as Major General Prescot will be sent in on the same terms for that purpose. Indeed, 'till I saw Major Williams last Night, I supposed that he had arrived either at New York or Rhode Island, having directed his releasement as soon as I was at liberty to do it. I will take the earliest opportunity to recommend to your Friends, Mr. Nourse and Mr. White, the care of your Farm.[12]

Your request to Major Morris[13] in favour of Mrs. Battier, reached me only last Night. I wish I had been informed of it sooner. I have inclosed a passport for her to Major Morris, and

[12] Lee's farm was at or near Winchester, Va.
[13] Maj. Jacob Morris, aide to Lee.

I doubt not but he will do every thing in his power to accommodate a Lady from whose Husband you have received so many civilities. I am, etc.[14]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Valley Forge, January 27, 1778.

Sir: Your two Letters of the 24th Inst. came to hand. Before the receipt of the first, I had written to you upon the subject contained in it, in consequence of your Letter to the commanding Officer at Lancaster, which had been transmitted to me. As that will inform you fully, respecting the British Officers and Cloathing, I will not trouble you with a repetition of the matter. I must observe, however, that the number of Officers and Men who came out does not appear to me so very extraordinary, considering the various duties they have to perform and the amount of Waggons and necessaries they have in charge. The Officers are under parole and the party unarmed. Nor will the state of this Army admit large escorts to be detached, and if it were much more respectable, I should apprehend Two Officers sufficient to attend the Flag. I should have been happy, if the Officers and Cloathing had not been seized, as it destroys that confidence which should ever be had in passports and involves consequences of a delicate and interesting nature. In answer to the last clause of your Letter, respecting the detention of the Cloathing, I refer you to my Letter of yesterday by which you will perceive, that there is a particular agreement between Genl. Howe and myself, under the sanction of which they came out.

I am much obliged by your polite request of my Opinion and advice on the Expedition to Canada and other occasions.

[14] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

In the present instance, as I neither know the extent of the Objects in view, nor the means to be employed to effect them, It is not in my power to pass any judgment upon the subject. I can only sincerely wish, that success may attend it, both as it may be advancive of the public good and on account of the personal Honor of the Marquis de la Fayette, for whom I have a very particular esteem and regard. Your Letter was delivered him in a little time after it came to my hands, and he proposes to set out for York Town to morrow.

Agreeable to your request I shall order Hazen's Regiment to march from Wilmington to this place, from whence it will immediately proceed towards Albany. As some particular purpose seems to be intended, by desiring this Regiment, I am induced to part with it, notwithstanding our force will illy bear the smallest diminution. I am, etc.[15]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH[16]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 27, 1778.

Sir: I received yours this Evening by Lieut. Patterson inclosing a letter from the Board of War directing you to seize the Persons, Carriages &ca. that have lately arrived at Lancaster with Cloathing for the British Prisoners and secure the same until you receive further directions from me or from the Board. As this order was founded upon a misapprehension of facts, I desire that they may be released upon the Receipt of this and suffered to proceed upon their respective Routes, under the conduct of the Officers appointed to escort them. Inclosed you have a letter to the President of the Board of War, setting this matter in its proper light, which please to forward to him.

[15] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and is addressed to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, president of the Board of War.

[16] Of Lee's Additional Continental regiment. He was transferred to Spencer's regiment in April, 1779; adjutant and inspector to Marquis de Lafayette in January, 1781; lieutenant colonel and aide to Washington from July, 1781, to December, 1783.

As soon as the detachment under your command are fit to leave the Hospital, I desire you may march immediately to this Camp. They are much wanted here, and the room which they occupy at Lancaster wanted for other patients. You are to consult the Director General upon the proper time of leaving your present quarters and march the moment he thinks it may be done without endangering the health of the men. I am, etc.

P. S. Send an Officer down three or four days before you march, that some preparations may be made for the reception of the men.[17]

To FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 27, 1778.

Sir: I received your favour of the 22d. instant by Captn. Alexander, to whom I have given an order to take several pieces of Cannon with a proper supply of Ammunition, that he, in conjunction with the other Gentlemen of the Navy, may endeavour to interrupt the Enemy's Shipping in their passage up and down the River.

Having never found an opportunity of conveying the letter, which you some time ago sent to me for Mr. Duché, by such a Channel as I thought it would reach him, I return it to you again. The contents have not been made public. I am, etc.[18]

To MAJOR JACOB MORRIS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I last night received yours by Colo. Williams with several letters from Genl. Lee. I am sorry that his request for a passport for Mrs. Battier had not been immediately granted upon the first request in Jersey, you have one inclosed, and I am persuaded you will do every thing in your power to

[17] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[18] Hopkinson's letter to Duché is dated Nov. 14, 1777, and is printed in Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vol. 5, p. 478.

accommodate a Lady so warmly recommended by the General. I am not without hopes that he will be able to wait upon her himself, as Genl. Prescot, for whom he is to be exchanged upon parole, has been ordered to Rhode Island some time ago.

I would have you comply with Genl. Lee's several requests for his Horses, and for the Hunting Shirt and Rifle. I return you the Letters and Papers and inclose you a letter for the General which be kind enough to forward to him. I am, etc.[19]

To JAMES MEASE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I last night received Mr. Young's[20] letter of the 24th, informing me of the unlucky accident that had befallen the Virginia Cloathing.[21] I have consulted the Brigadiers what is best to be done in their present situation, and they think that the Cloths and Linens proper for the Officers should be dried as quick as possible and sent here to be made up. The coarse Cloths and Linens proper for Soldiers, to be made up agreeable to directions given by Genl. Scott to Lieutt. Gamble, who will remain at Lancaster and receive the Cloathing as it is made up and forward it to Camp. All the Stockings, Shoes, Hats and ready made Shirts to be sent off immediately, if not already done, Thread and Trimmings to be sent with the fine Cloth and linen. I am, &ca.[19]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge,
Wednesday, January 28, 1778.

Parole Minorca. Countersigns Minden, Manchester.

As there has been an extraordinary and unaccountable waste of Ammunition in many of the brigades; as soon as the brigades

[19] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[20] Charles Young, Assistant Clothier General.

[21] Young's letter (January 24), telling of damage sustained to linen and woolens in crossing the Susquehanna, is in the *Washington Papers*.

are completed therewith agreeable to yesterdays orders, the Commander in Chief positively orders the Colonels and Commanding Officers of Regiments to see that an Officer in each Company carefully examine their men's ammunition every day at roll-call in the morning and severely punish any soldier who shall carelessly waste a single Cartridge.

At a General Court-Martial whereof Majr. Church[22] was President Jany. 26th. William McIntire a soldier in 7th. Pennsylvania Battn. tried for robbing a load of wheat &c. from one of Colo. Spencer's Waggoners found guilty of a breach of 5th. Article 18th. Section of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive 30 lashes on his naked back well laid on at the head of his own regiment.

At the same Court William Dearlove of 4th. Pennsylvania Battalion tried for stealing money from Frederick Buzzard found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes well laid on. The Commander in Chief approves the aforegoing sentences and orders them to be put in execution tomorrow morning at roll-call at the head of the Regiment to which they respectively belong.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Clark was President Jany. 22nd., Thomas Scott who acted in the Character of Waggon-Master tried for taking Forage contrary to General Orders of 31st. of december last, was acquitted of the charge exhibited against him; The General approving the sentence orders him to be released immediately.

Stephen Rice (at the same Court) of 8th. Virginia Regiment tried for plundering the Inhabitants of the Country found guilty of the charge exhibited against him being a breach of 15th. Article of 13th Section of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his naked back well laid on.

[22]Maj. Thomas Church, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in January, 1781.

At the same Court Joseph Tern of 3rd. Virginia Regiment tried for deserting from the Provost-Guard and taking a Prisoner with him, found guilty of a breach of Article 1st. Section 6th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his naked back well laid on. Likewise Robert Gist, Drummer in Colo. Lamb's Regiment of Artillery tried for attempting to desert to the Enemy, found guilty, but on account of his youth only Sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back.

At a General Court-Martial whereof Colo. Clark was President January 23rd., Benjamin Benney of Colo. Hale's Regiment tried for attempting to desert to the Enemy found guilty of the charge and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on. The Commander in Chief approves the aforegoing sentences and orders them to be executed tomorrow morning at roll-call at the heads of their respective Regiments.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 28, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received your favour of the 26th. pr. Express, inclosing Returns of the Maryland Companies of Artillery and the Law of that State for recruiting their Battalions. Their Bounties are generous, but I very much fear that nothing short of drafting will have the desired effect. The Congress having ordered Hazen's Regiment to the Northward, for a particular purpose, I have directed Major Taylor to march immediately. You will therefore detain the two Artillery Companies for the present, as they will in some measure make up for the deficiency. As the Men of Hazen's Regiment who are in Hospitals in this quarter will be coming in, in the Spring I have desired Major Taylor to leave a few Officers behind to receive and take care of them. I received the Silk and twist by the Express for

which I am obliged, as I am for your promise of procuring the other Articles which I wrote for. I am, etc.[23]

To MAJOR JOHN TAYLOR[24]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 28, 1778.

Sir: Previous to yours of the 26th. instt., I had received directions from the Board of War to send part, or if they could be spared, the whole of Colo. Hazen's Regiment to Albany. Their numbers are so reduced that it is not worth while to make a division, and I therefore desire that you will immediately march with all that are fit for duty. As your nearest Route will be thro' Bethlehem, you will cross the Schuylkill at or near this Camp. For the better accommodation of the Men at this Season of the Year I would have you march in two divisions, one or two days apart. As the march will be heavy, advise the Officers to take no superfluous Baggage and see that the Men do not incumber themselves with any more than necessary Clothing. Considering the climate they are going to, you should endeavour to equip them as warmly as possible. You will necessarily leave some men behind who are invalids, and others who are in the Hospitals will be coming in as they recover, you will therefore leave a sufficient number of Officers to take care of them. I am, etc.[23]

To MAJOR THOMAS SMYTH[25]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 28, 1778.

Sir: I have yours of the 25th. As it is my most earnest wish to have the pay Rolls of the several Regiments brought to a final settlement, that they may from thence be regularly adjusted every month; I shall lay your letter before the Muster Master

[23] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[24] Of the Second Canadian Regiment. He resigned in February, 1779.
[25] Of the Fifth Maryland Regiment.

General, and if the mode you point out can be admitted, or any other adopted which will answer the desired end, I will direct him to give orders to one of his Deputies to have it carried into execution. I am, etc.[26]

To THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS WITH THE ARMY[27]

[Head Quarters, January 29, 1778.]

Gentlemen: The numerous defects in our present military establishment, rendering many reformations and many new arrangements absolutely necessary, and Congress having been pleased to appoint you a Committee, in concert with me, to make and recommend such as shall appear eligible, in pursuance of the various objects expressed in their Resolution for that purpose; I have in the following sheets, briefly delivered my sentiments upon such of them as seemed to me most essential; so far as observation has suggested and leisure permitted. These are submitted to consideration and I shall be happy, if they are found conducive to remedying the Evils and inconveniences we are now subject to and putting the Army upon a more respectable footing. Something must be done, important alterations must be made; necessity requires that our resources should be enlarged and our system improved for without it, if the dissolution of the army should not be the consequence at least, its operations must infallibly be feeble, languid and ineffectual.

[26] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[27] This committee, generally known as the committee of conference, had been chosen on January 10 as Francis Dana, Joseph Reed, Nathaniel Folsom, and John Harvie, together with three members of the Board of War, who were selected on January 12, *to wit,* Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin, and Col. Timothy Pickering. On January 20 Charles Carroll and Gouverneur Morris were added, after Gates, Mifflin, and Pickering were excused from acting. The committee held its sessions at Moore Hall, the house of William Moore, about two and a half miles north of the Valley Forge headquarters.

As I consider a proper and satisfactory provision for officers in a Manner, as the basis of every other regulation and arrangement necessary to be made; Since without officers no army can exist, and unless some measures be devised to place those of ours in a more desirable situation, few of them would be able, if willing, to continue in it. I shall begin with a few reflections tending to prove the necessity.

OF A HALF PAY AND PENSIONARY ESTABLISHMENT

A small knowledge of human nature will convince us, that, with far the greatest part of mankind, interest is the governing principle; and that almost every man is more or less, under its influence. Motives of public virtue may for a time, or in particular instances, actuate men to the observance of a conduct purely disinterested; but they are not of themselves sufficient to produce a persevering conformity to the refined dictates and obligations of social duty. Few men are capable of making a continual sacrifice of all views of private interest, or advantage, to the common good. It is vain to exclaim against the depravity of human nature on this account; the fact is so, the experience of every age and nation has proved it and we must in a great measure, change the constitution of man, before we can make it otherwise. No institution, not built on the presumptive truth of these maxims can succeed.

We find them exemplified in the American officers as well as in all other men. At the commencement of the dispute, in the first effusions of their zeal, and looking upon the service to be only temporary, they entered into it without paying any regard to pecuniary, or selfish considerations. But, finding its duration to be much longer than they at first suspected, and that instead of deriving any advantage from the hardships and dangers, to which they were exposed, they on the contrary,

were losers by their patriotism and fell far short even of a competency to supply their wants, they have gradually abated in their ardor; and with many, an intire disinclination to the service, under its present circumstances, has taken place. To this, in an eminent degree, must be ascribed the frequent resignations daily happening, and the more frequent importunities for permission to resign, and from some officers of the greatest merit. To this also may we ascribe, the apathy, inattention and neglect of duty, which pervade all ranks, and which will necessarily continue and increase while an officer instead of gaining any thing, is impoverished by his commission; and conceives he is conferring not receiving a favor, in holding it. There can be no sufficient tie upon Men possessing such sentiments. Nor can any method be adopted, to oblige those, to a punctual discharge of duty who are indifferent about their continuance in the service, and are often seeking a pretext to disengage themselves from it. Punishment, in this case will be unavailing; but when an officer's commission is made valuable to him, and he fears to lose it, you may then exact obedience from him.

It is not indeed consistent with reason or justice, to expect that one set of Men should make a sacrifice of property, domestic ease and happiness, encounter the rigors of the field, the perils and vicissitudes of war to obtain those blessings which every Citizen will enjoy, in common with them, without some adequate compensation. It must also be a comfortless reflection to any Man, that after he may have contributed to securing the rights of his country at the risk of his life and the ruin of his fortune, there will be no provision made to prevent himself and family from sinking into indigence and wretchedness. Besides adopting some methods to make the provision for officers equal to their present exigencies, a due regard should be paid to futurity. Nothing, in my opinion, would serve more powerfully

to reanimate their languishing zeal, and interest them thoroughly in the service, than a half pay and pensionary establishment. This would not only dispel the apprehension of personal distress, at the termination of the war, from having thrown themselves out of professions and employments, they might not have it in their power to resume; but would in a great degree, relieve the painful anticipation, of leaving their Widows and Orphans, a burthen on the charity of their country, should it be their lot to fall in its defence.

I am earnest in recommending this measure, because I know it is the general wish and expectation; and that many Officers whom, upon every principle, we should wish to retain in the service are only waiting to see whether something of the kind will or will not take place to be determined in their resolutions either of staying in, or quitting it immediately; and I urge my sentiments with the greater freedom, because I cannot and shall not, receive the smallest benefit from the establishment, and can have no other inducement for proposing it, than a full conviction of its utility and propriety.

I am sensible, the expence will be a capital objection to it, but to this I oppose the necessity. The Officers are now discontented with their situation; if some generous expedient is not embraced to remove their discontent, so extensive a desertion of the service will ensue, and so much discouragement be cast upon those who remain as must wound it in a very essential manner. Every thing that has this effect, has a tendency, at least to protract the war; and though dictated by a well intended frugality will, I fear, in the end, prove erroneous œconomy.

OF COMPLETING THE REGIMENTS AND ALTERING THEIR ESTABLISHMENT

The necessity of the first, in the most expeditious manner possible, is too self evident to need illustration or proof, and I shall therefore only beg leave to offer some reflections on the mode.

Voluntary inlistments seem to be totally out of the question; all the allurements of the most exorbitant bounties and every other inducement, that could be thought of, have been tried in vain, and seem to have had little other effect than to increase the rapacity and raise the demands of those to whom they were held out. We may fairly infer, that the country has been already pretty well drained of that class of Men, whose tempers, attachments and circumstances disposed them to enter permanently, or for a length of time, into the army; and that the residue of such men, who from different motives, have kept out of the army, if collected, would not augment our general strength in any proportion to what we require. If experience has demonstrated, that little more can be done by voluntary inlistments, some other mode must be concerted, and no other presents itself, than that of filling the Regiments by drafts from the Militia. This is a disagreeable alternative, but it is an unavoidable one.

As drafting for the war, or for a term of years, would probably be disgusting and dangerous, perhaps impracticable, I would propose an annual draft of men, without officers, to serve 'till the first day of January, in each year; That on or before the first day of October preceeding, these drafted Men should be called upon to reinlist for the suceeding year; and as an incitement to doing it, those being much better and less expensive than raw recruits, a bounty of twenty five dollars should be offered: That, upon ascertaining, at this period, the number of men, willing to re-engage, exact returns should be made to Congress of the deficiency in each regiment, and transmitted by them to the respective states, in order that they may have their several quotas immediately furnished, and sent on to Camp, for the service of the ensuing year, so as to arrive by, or before, the first day of January.

This method, though not so good as that of obtaining Men for the war, is perhaps the best our circumstances will allow;

and as we shall always have an established corps of experienced officers, may answer tolerably well. It is the only mode, I can think of, for completing our batalions in time, that promises the least prospect of success; the accomplishment of which is an object of the last importance; and it has this advantage, that the minds of the people being once reconciled to the experiment, it would prove a source of continual supplies hereafter.

Men drafted in this manner should not, in the first instance, receive any bounty from the public; which being solemnly enjoined upon each state, and a stop put to the militia substitution laws, would probably be attended with very happy consequences. A number of idle, mercenary fellows would be thrown out of employment, precluded from their excessive wages, as substitutes for a few weeks or months; and constrained to inlist in the Continental army. In speaking of abolishing the militia substitution laws, it is not meant to hinder a person, who might be drafted in the annual allottments, from procuring a substitute in his stead, himself in consequence being excused. This indulgence would be admissible, and considering all things, necessary, as there are many individuals, whose dispositions and private affairs would make them irreconcilably averse to giving their personal services, for so long a duration; and with whom it would be impolitic to use compulsion. The allowance of substitution, upon a smaller scale, in the occasional coming out of the militia, for a few Weeks, a month or two, is the thing meant to be reprobated. It is highly productive of the double disadvantage of preventing the growth of the Army, and depreciating our currency.

In the new establishment of a regiment, as apparent inconveniences result from the enemy's having no full colonels in their army, distinctly such, to exchange for ours, in case of captivity, I would propose, that our batalions should be commanded by Lieutenant-colonels commandant, with the pay of colonel, and

consist of the following officers and men: one lieutenant colonel commandant, one lieutenant Colonel, a major, nine captains, nine lieutenants, nine ensigns, an adjutant, quarter master, pay master; serjeant, drum and fife major, twenty seven serjeants, 18 drums and fifes, and five hundred and four rank and file: That these should be divided into eight companies: That a captain, lieutenant, ensign, three serjeants, two drums and fifes, and fifty six rank and file, should be selected from the whole to compose a company of light infantry; That the infantry from each brigade be commanded by a field officer belonging to it; if officers by the reduction of Corps and otherwise unprovided for, are not appointed to the commands; a mode preferable to that of drafting from the brigades, as a means of doing those Officers justice and because the brigades would miss the field officers, drawn from them for this purpose: And, That the whole be commanded by General officers from the line, chosen by the commander in Chief. This body would compose the flying army; and, in conjunction with a body of horse would become extremely formidable and useful.

The benefits arising from a superiority in horse, are obvious to those who have experienced them. Independent of such as you may derive from it in the field of action, it enables you, very materially, to controul the inferior and subordinate motions of an enemy, and to impede their knowledge of what you are doing, while it gives you every advantage of superior intelligence and, consequently, both facilitates your enterprizes against them and obstructs theirs against you. In a defensive war as in our case it is peculiarly desirable; because it affords great protection to the country, and is a barrier to those inroads and depradations upon the inhabitants, which are inevitable when the superiority lies on the side of the invaders. The enemy fully sensible of the advantages, are taking all the pains

in their power, to acquire an ascendency in this respect,[28] to defeat which, I would propose an augmentation of our cavalry, by adding a lieutenant, serjeant and corporal and twenty two privates to each troop. The establishment will then be as follows,

1 Colonel	all as usual except 6 additional lieutenants[29]
1 Lt. Colonel	
1 Major	
6 Captains	
12 lieutenants	
6 Cornets	
1 Adjutant	
1 Qur Master	
1 Sadler	
6 farriers	
6 Qur Master serjeants	
12 serjeants	
30 Corporals	
6 Trumpeters	
324 privates	

There are and will continue four regiments of cavalry, which composing a brigade, will require a Brigadier, Brigade-Major, Quarter master, Commissary and forage Master as usual. The Men for this service can easily be gotten: the providing horses and accoutrements will be found to suffer some difficulty, yet will not be impracticable. The procuring horses should be undertaken by judicious officers from each regiment, well skilled in them; and conducted, in such a manner as to occasion no interference with each other. Let Sheldon's purchases be confined to the Eastward of the North River; Moylan's between the North River and Susquehannah; Baylor's between Susquehannah and James River; and Blands to the Southward of that. The number of horses to be purchased by each, ought to be

[28] In Hamilton's first draft Washington added at this point "and from the Enemy's endeavr. to obtain a superiority."

[29] In Hamilton's first draft Washington here added "excepting 6 addl. Lieutts."

determined; and an average price limited, disclosed only to the purchaser, with a strict injunction to conceal it as much as possible; because, if once generally known, sellers would take advantages of it, and part with none under the limitation. The accoutrements to be provided in the same districts, and by the same persons; but as some of these districts abound more in manufacturers than others, all that can be engaged in each, in a certain stipulated time, ought to be secured, in order that the overplus, in one part, may supply the deficiency in another. And as these articles may be imported cheaper, and better, in quality, than they can be made here, I would advise that at least, fifteen hundred sets should be sent for to France, with directions to divide them in small parcels, and embark them in different vessels that we may have a probability of getting at least a part, and not run the risk of sustaining a total loss and disappointment, by adventuring the whole in one bottom.

OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY

The establishment of a batalion being fixed, under the last head; it remains to ascertain the number of batalions in order to form a proper arrangement. The number of batalions now in the field from each state stand thus.

New Hampshire	3	Delaware	1
Massachusetts	15	Maryland	7
Rhode Island	2	Virginia	15
Connecticut	8	State do	1
New York	4	Carolina	9
New Jersey	4	German Battalion	1
Pennsylvania	12	Hazens	1
Colo. W. Stewarts of do	1	Additionals and parts	13
	49	Total	97

By the foregoing list, it appears, that in regiments and parts of regiments, there are Ninety seven now in the field; but the state of them requires explanation. Out of Nine from North

Carolina, by a return of the 31st. Ultimo, only 572 rank and file are fit for duty: These with 71 sick present and 137 on Command, make 780 rank and file, which, I suppose may be produced. The total number, rank and file, in the nine regiments is 1079; the difference is accounted for in sick, absent and on furlough; which is the only way, I am apprehensive they ever will be accounted for. From this defective state of them, I should think it advisable, to throw the rank and file of the nine regiments into two (they have been already reduced to three) and to send the supernumerary officers back to the state, to collect such men as, on various pretences, were left behind and deserters: And aided by the whole efficiency of the State, voluntary inlistments being, as I said before, out of the question, to exert all their endeavours towards completing the seven other regiments, or such of them as Congress shall direct. I am the more induced to recommend this measure, from the possibility of the enemy's attempting a more southern expedition next campaign. They may do it in order to gain possession of the capital of another state, which will give reputation to their arms in Europe, distress our trade and abridge our supplies; at the same time will enable administration to avail themselves, in another instance, of the illusory idea, they endeavour to hold up to the nation, to keep their hopes alive and extract fresh contributions; That every State, whose capital they possess, is conquered. These new raised troops may, either, join this army, or aid South Carolina or Virginia, as circumstances shall point out.

It is needless to enter into a minute detail as to the precise state of the other troops: Let it suffice to say, that they bear too near an analogy to the specimen here given.

Virginia, I understand, though not from any direct authority, has resolved to draft towards the completion of her batalions; and as this mode seems to be the only one, calculated to answer

the end, it is to be hoped, she will be able to furnish the full complement of fifteen, including the state batalion. What plan Maryland has fallen upon, or may adopt, to fill her batalions, I know not; but as the powers of government are with her in full vigor and the abilities of the State intirely adequate to the end, I think her original quota ought to be depended upon. Delaware must undoubtedly contribute one batalion; no change having happened, since that portion was assigned her, sufficient to afford a plea for reducing it. In behalf of Pennsylvania, much may be said; the exhausted state of her regiments, her loss of capitol, and intestine divisions, ever destructive to the energy of government, may perhaps incapacitate her, for completing her thirteen regiments, now on foot. Suppose the number should be for the present, diminished to eight, and the state should exert herself to fill them in the first place. When this shall be accomplished, if her resources appear equal to any further efforts, she may proceed to raising the remaining five. New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire are fully competent to the quotas respectively required of them, and no abatement seems necessary with respect to either. We have reason to hope their exertions will keep pace with their abilities, and that they will take decisive measures to send their several proportions into the field.

I am at a loss what to propose, concerning the German batalion, Hazen's Regiment and the sixteen additionals. Appertaining to no particular state or states, they will have no chance of being filled by drafts, and as little by any other means. They must either remain weak and imperfect corps, be adopted by the states or incorporated into each other and then, if possible, recruited: The first, upon every principle, ought not to be the case, and as the second would not be altogether eligible from the difficulty of apportioning them, without dividing and

subdividing the regiments, the third seems to be the expedient to which we must have recourse. Let Maryland take the German batalion wholly, as one of her eight, for she already claims a part of it; and then let the sixteen additionals, none of which are strong, some extremely weak and others only partially organized, be thrown into nine. There is this number of them, which comparatively speaking, are tolerably respectable, and have undergone a good deal of hard service in the course of the last campaign. These, after having received the Men out of the reduced corps, ought to be licensed, though a barren experiment, to try what can be done by voluntary inlistments, throughout the Continent, at large. Hazen's regiment might be added to them and united in the same privilege.

If these propositions are approved, the whole number of batalions on the establishment, will be eighty, and the total amount of them if complete 40,320 rank and file.

Upon this number of batalions, I shall make my arrangements. Whether full or not, they will require to be thrown into Brigades and divisions; these again into wings and lines; all of which, for the sake of order, harmony and discipline, should be under distinct commands, capable of moving either jointly or seperately, in the great Machine, as circumstances shall require. I would accordingly, to every four batalions, allow a Brigadier, to every three brigades a Major General, and to the grand army three Lieutenant Generals; one to command the right Wing, another the left and a third, the second line. These three will always be necessary with the grand army, and unless it should be more divided next campaign, than we have reason to judge from present appearances, are all that will be requisite; yet it may be better to appoint four on account of contingent services.

If it should be deemed improper to reduce the number of Pennsylvania batalions,* in the manner proposed, another

Brigadier will be wanted; otherwise, Twenty two Brigadiers (two for the flying army) eight Major Generals (one for the flying army) and three Lieutenant Generals will be sufficient. To each Brigade, there should be a Quarter Master, Forage Master, Waggon Master and Commissary; also armourers, a traveling forge, and some artificers. In short, each Brigade should be an epitome of the great whole, and move by similar Springs upon a smaller scale.

*Since writing the above, I hear the assembly of this state have passed a law to draft men for their batalions, and I have arranged the Army accordingly, in a schedule hereunto annexed.[30]

In a young Army, like ours, the Office of Inspector General, principally for the purpose of instituting and carrying into practice an uniform system of manual and manœuvres, must be extremely useful and advantageous. A number of assistants to this office will be required, as one man would be incapable of superintending, the practice of the rules laid down, throughout the Army; and unless this were carefully done, it would be of little avail to establish them. It would be proper, in my opinion, to have one to each Brigade; the benefits resulting from which, would greatly overballance the consideration of expence.

Another new institution, I should wish to see take place in the army, and from which signal advantages would flow, is that of a Provost-Marshalcy.[31] It should be composed of.

1 Capt. or Grand Provost, with the pay of dollars pr Month
4 Lieutenants, or Provost Marshals, with the pay of dollars each pr. Month to be stationed on the flanks and rear of the army.

[30] This schedule probably was a copy of the "Arrangement of the Army for the Campaign 1778 and present state of the Battalions this 1st day of Jany. 1778," which is a 3-page tabular statement, in Washington's writing, filed in the *Washington Papers* at the end of January, 1778.

[31] This provost-marshal organization was authorized by the resolves of May 27, 1778, which established the rearrangement of the army. The corps became known as the Marechaussée and was commanded by Capt. Bartholomew von Heer.

1 Clerk, to register all official transactions of the corps, regulations for suttlers &c. As his business will be pretty extensive, and imply a degree of trust, he should have not less than dollars a Month.
1 Qur. Master serjeant, to draw provisions &c. with the same pay as others of the same denomination.
2 Trumpeters.
2 Serjeants.
5 Corporals, one to be with each officer
43 Provosts or privates
} to have the same pay as is given in the horse.
4 Executioners, with the pay of

The reason that the pay of this corps is rated so high, is that the offices of it are extremely troublesome; and require men worthy of trust and of great activity, to execute them, who would not be tempted by a less recompence, to undergo the drudgery and fatigue. It is also necessary the officers should have some rank, to enable them to maintain a proper degree of respect and command; for which purpose that of captain for the principal and lieutenant for his assistants will be sufficient. The intention of the corps requires, that the whole should be on horseback, armed and accoutred in the same manner as light horsemen. And as there is a necessity for good men to be employed in this service, who cannot well be inlisted, they ought to be drafted from the brigades.

The business of this corps is to watch over the good order and regularity of the army, in camp, quarters, or on a march; to silence all quarrels, tumults and riots; detect and hinder every species of marauding, prevent straggling and other unsoldier-like licenses among the troops; to apprehend spies, or persons, who not being able to give a good account of themselves, may render them suspicious; to establish and enforce good regulations among the suttlers, who should therefore be subject to the rules prescribed them by the grand provost, and of whom he is to keep a register, frequently inspecting their conduct, and seeing that the articles, they offer for sale, are good in quality

and at reasonable prices. These, and many other particulars, are comprehended in the duties of the Provost-Marshalcy; in the execution of which, continual patroles must be kept up, day and night, throughout the limits of the camp and its environs.

There are many little crimes and disorders incident to soldiery, which require immediate punishment and which from the multiplicity of them, if referred to Court Martials, would create endless trouble, and often escape proper notice: These, when soldiers are detected in the fact, by the provost marshals, they ought to have a power to punish on the spot; subject to proper limitations and to such regulations, as the commander in chief, according to customs and usages of War, shall, from time to time, introduce.

Before I conclude this head, I shall recur a moment to the subject of altering the establishment of a batalion in the manner proposed under the preceding. Notwithstanding a company of light infantry is added to it, there will be a considerable reduction of officers, by having only two instead of three subalterns to a company; and this reduction will be greatly increased, if intire regiments are disbanded, and the fighting part of the staff taken from the line, not left separate and distinct as heretofore. It becomes an object of inquiry, what is to be done with these reduced officers. To turn them adrift, without some provision, though they insist on the privilege, whenever it suits them to continue no longer in it, of relinquishing the service, wears at least the appearance of hardship, if not of injury; and would, no doubt, be a subject of clamor and complaint with them all. With some, who may have provided and lain themselves out for a military life, it would be perhaps a real grievance. I see but one method of obviating the embarrassments on this score and that not altogether unexceptionable. It is to be presumed and fervently to be wished, that every batalion

retained in service, will be officered by Gentlemen of the most deserving characters and best military qualifications in it, and that can be selected from other corps, belonging to the same state, which may happen to be dissolved, if any are. After this, should there remain any worthy officers, unprovided for, and that cannot be disposed of, in some useful capacity, they may be held on half pay, if not too numerous, till vacancies should occur in the line of their own states. Others may be dismissed with an allowance of land, proportioned to their several ranks.

OF RANK

Among the complicated causes of complaint in this army, none seems to have taken deeper root, nor to have given more general dissatisfaction than the lavish distribution of rank. No error can be more pernicious, than that of dealing out rank with too prodigal a hand. The inconveniences of it are manifest: It lessens the value and splendor of it, in some measure degrades it into contempt, breeds jealousies and animosities, and takes away one of the most powerful incitements to emulation.

To avoid this evil, in future, it is proposed, that such of the staff as are intitled to it and ought to be commissioned should be taken from the line. For instance, the Adjutant, Quarter Master and Pay Master of each regiment to be chosen from the regiment, they are to serve in; the two first from the subalterns, the other from the subalterns or captains, according to the fitness of the person. Each of these to enjoy double pay, but to hold no other rank, than he is vested with, by his station in the line, in which he is regularly to rise; the adjutant and quarter master ceasing to be such, when they arrive at the rank of Captain and the pay master when he attains to that of major. The Brigade-major and brigade Quarter Master to be officers from the Brigade, not exceeding the rank of Captain, and to resign

those offices when they obtain a majority. The future appointments of Aid de Camps to the Major and Lieutenant Generals to be from the line, and they to hold no other ranks, than their commissions there give them a claim to. But as many good officers are now acting in this capacity to the former, who originally belonged to the line, and have at this time no appointments there, the rule ought to have no retrospective operation with regard to those already created; who ought upon every principle to preserve their present rank.

The Secretaries and Aid de Camps to the Commander in chief ought not to be confined to the line for plain and obvious reasons. The number which the nature and extent of his business require, in addition to the many drawn from the line to fill the different offices of the staff, when it is considered, that they ought all to be Men of abilities, may seem too large a draft upon the line. But a consideration still more forcible is, that in a service so complex as ours, it would be wrong and detrimental to restrict the choice; the vast diversity of objects, occurrences and correspondencies, unknown in one more regular and less diffusive, constantly calling for talents and abilities of the first rate; men who possess them ought to be taken, wherever they can be found. With respect to their rank those who are now in the station, ought in every point of view to retain that, which they now hold; some of them have been acting in these capacities a considerable length of time, others who quitted the line of the army to come into them, would in the common course of promotion have been at least as high as they now are, and almost all of them have been in the service from an early period of the war; in future those who happen to be from the army ought only to hold their rank in it, and rise in course like others in a similar predicament; it is submitted whether those taken out of it ought to have any rank, and if any, what; also what shall be the pay in both cases.

The Quarter Master General and Adjutant General, as they fill places of the highest trust and importance and ought to be Gentlemen of the first military characters, should, if not of the line, have rank conferred upon them, and not less than that of colonel.

As it does not require military men, to discharge the duties of Commissaries, Forage Masters and Waggon Masters, who are also looked upon as the money making part of the army, no rank should be allowed to any of them, nor indeed to any in the departments merely of a civil nature. Neither is it, in my opinion proper, though it may seem a trivial and inconsequencial circumstance, that they should wear the established uniforms of the army, which ought to be considered as a badge of military distinction.

These regulations will add weight and dignity to the fighting part of the army, render commissions valuable, and bringing rank into the estimation it ought to bear, will make it a stimilous to bravery and enterprize. At the same time, they will ease the public of a present, and in case of half pay, of a considerable future, expence.

In speaking of rank, as a spur to enterprise, I am led, by the way to hint an idea, which may be improved and turned to no small advantage. This is the institution of honorary rewards, differing in degree, to be conferred on those, who signalize themselves, by any meritorious actions, in proportion to the magnitude and brilliancy of the atchievement. These should be sacred to the purpose of their institution, and unattainable by loose recommendations, or vague, though arrogating pretensions; given only upon authentic vouchers of real desert, from some proper board. Congress have already adopted the idea, in particular instances; but it were to be wished, it could be extended to something more general and systematic. I have not sufficiently employed my thoughts upon the subject, to digest

them into a proposition, as to the nature variety and extent of these rewards; but I would in general observe, that they may consist in things of very little cost, or real value, and that the more diversified they are, the better. If judiciously and impartially administered, they would be well calculated to kindle that emulous love of glory and distinction, to which may be imputed far the greater part of the most illustrious exploits performed among mankind, and which is peculiarly necessary to be cherished and cultivated in a military life.

OF PROMOTION

Irregular promotions have also been a pregnant source of uneasiness, discord and perplexity in this army. They have been the cause of numerous bickerings and resignations among the officers, and have occasioned infinite trouble and vexation to the Commander in Chief. To rectify mistakes, introduced by accident, inadvertency, the interference of state appointments, or other means, employed much of the time of the General officers, in the course of the last campaign, and to less purpose than could be wished. We find, that however injuriously to the rights of others, an officer obtains irregular promotion, he is not the less tenacious of it; but it is with the utmost difficulty, if at all, he can be convinced of the propriety of doing an act of justice by abandoning his claim; though he will confess there was no just cause in the first instance, for giving him the preference. But as it did happen, he pretends his honor would be wounded, by suffering another, who is, *in fact,* his inferior, to come over him; not considering how much that other was injured by the act, which gave him the superiority.

This, however, shows how indespensably necessary it is, to have some settled rule of promotion, universally known and understood and not to be deviated from, but for obvious

and incontestible reasons. Extraordinary promotions founded upon acknowledged worth on the one hand, and acknowledged demerit on the other, would rather excite emulation than murmurs. The prospect of not being shackled to the tedious gradations of ordinary succession, would teach the good officer to aspire to an excellence, that should entitle him to more rapid preferment; and the fear of being superceded with dishonor, would teach indifferent ones to exert more activity, diligence and attention, than they otherwise would; were they left in a listless security, certain of enjoying the honors and emoluments of progressive rank, let their conduct be ever so undeserving. But this is a matter, that ought to be handled with the utmost caution and delicacy. Nothing is more alarming and prejudicial, than an injudicious infraction of rank. It discourages merit and foments discontent and disorder. No departure from the established maxims of preferment is warrantable, which is not founded upon the most apparent and unequivocal reasons.

With respect to the rule of promotion, proper to be observed; as I believe it to be consistent with the general sense and sentiment of the Army, I would propose,

That promotion should be regimental to the rank of Captain inclusively, and from that, in the line of the state to the rank of Brigadier inclusively; proceeding, from that, in the line of the army at large.

The reason that promotions in the line of a state, end with the Brigadier, and are extended from that to the line of the army, is, that, though the principle of having regard to the proportion of troops, furnished by each state, in the appointments of general officers, be in the main equitable and politic; yet the end proposed from it will be sufficiently answered by limiting it to the creation of Brigadiers. If carried further, will be injurious and become an incurable source of inquietude and disgust.

When once a man is made a general officer, his circle of expectation widens, and he transfers his views from the line of his state to the line at large. He looks for promotion according to his seniority in the scale of general officers, and will not brook being overleaped by his juniors and inferiors, merely because he had the ill fortune to enter the service of his country in a smaller or less populous state than they. These feelings and sentiments are universal, and we have already, in some instances, experienced their operation.

As four regiments, in the arrangement proposed, are required to constitute a Brigade, and some states send less than that number to the field, a mode should be fallen upon to place this matter upon determinate principles, so as to prevent disputes hereafter. At present, no difficulty can arise; because all the states, Delaware excepted, have Brigadiers; but time and accident may remove these, and give rise to contention, unless some rule is previously fixed and declared.

It appears to me absolutely essential, that Congress, the board of war or some other body, or person, should exercise the sole power, when once the states have sent their Regiments into the field, of giving and receiving commissions, filling vacancies and the like. If this should not be the case, I fear, the confusion will be endless. Erroneous promotions will probably be made, as heretofore, commissions antedated, officers dissatisfied, time lost in transmitting returns from one end of the Continent to the other, and waiting the arrangements upon them, the wheels of the whole machine, in consequence, clogged and disordered, and infinite trouble incurred in putting them to rights again.

OF CLOATHING THE ARMY

In regard to cloathing, experience has evinced, that the mode of providing hitherto in practice, is by no means adequate to the end; and that unless our future efforts are more effectual, it will be next to impossible to keep an army in the field. I am

in hopes that valuable consequences will accrue from a resolution of Congress of the 22d of November, directing

> That the several states from time to time exert their utmost endeavours to procure, in addition to the allowance of cloathing heretofore made by Congress, supplies of blankets &c. for the comfortable subsistence of the Officers and Soldiers of their respective batalions.

As this puts the business into a greater variety of hands, than it has heretofore been in, and under the providence of a more diffusive attention, besides exciting a laudable rivalship, and operating upon the attachments of the different states, it will probably, be not a little instrumental in bringing us the needed supplies. But it is not an expedient that can be relied on altogether; of which, I doubt not, Congress are fully sensible and will only consider it as an auxiliary to their exertions. Indeed with several states which happen to be more or less the theatres of the war, and labor under other local impediments, it would be impracticable to furnish but a very small part of their proportion.

For my own part (with all deference I speak it) I have little conception, that our extensive wants can be completely satisfied, in any other way, than by national or governmental contracts, between Congress and the Court of France. If we are to depend wholly upon the resources of our mercantile credit, they must from the nature of things be too limited and contingent. While the seas are crowded with the British navy, and no foreign maritime power is employed in the protection of our trade, the precariousness of remittances from this Continent must be so great, as to destroy, or, at least, sicken our commercial credit; and make it neither the interest, nor within the abilities of private individuals, to adventure so largely upon that foundation, as our necessities demand.

It is not in my power to judge with certainty, what terms we may be upon with the French Court, what may have been already attempted, or may be now negociating, in the matter

here suggested. Perhaps the project of national contracts is not practicable; but, if it is, it would certainly be our interest to embrace it. Besides placing our supplies, in so essential an article, on a sure and unfailing foundation, it would cement the connexion between the two countries, and, if discovered, prove a new and powerful topic of hostility between France and Britain. At the same time, I do not think, that the fear of a discovery, from an unwillingness on the part of France, to force on an immediate war, supposing it to exist, need be any insuperable obstacle. Things might be conducted in such an indirect and discreet manner, as to make them go on, in all appearance as they do at present, and render a detection of the part the government bore in the affair, morally impossible.

The resolution, before cited, recommends to the respective states, the appointment

of one or more persons to dispose of the articles (procured) to the officers and soldiers, in such proportions as the General officers from the respective states, commanding in the army, shall direct, and at such reasonable prices, as shall be assessed by the Cloathier General or his deputy and be in just proportion to the Wages of the officers and soldiers, charging the surplus to the cost of the United States: adding that all cloathing hereafter to be supplied to the officers and soldiers of the Continental army, out of the public stores of the United States, beyond the bounties already granted, shall be charged at the like prices.

The regulation contained in this clause is very wholesome, generous and equitable. It will give great satisfaction to the army and conduce to removing the difficulties stated in the first section of these remarks, arising from the insufficiency of the present provision for officers. Nor do I know whether it admits of any improvement, by being made more definite. As the criterion of reasonableness in the prices seem to lie with the Cloathier General, or deputy, it may perhaps be liable to uncertainty and abuse, and may be the subject of dispute between them and the Officers. If to prevent this, a catalogue of rates could be

established as the standard, it would be desireable; but perhaps the great difference and the variety in the quality and kinds of goods, may not admit of such a Measure.

It will of course be necessary for each state to have agents for importing and purchasing goods, towards its quota of supplies; and the Cloathier General should have a deputy in every state, for purchasing all overplus articles wanted in his department, provided that effectual measures be taken by each state for preventing any competition between their agents or the Cloathier General and his agents, who are severally directed to observe the instructions of the respective states, relative to the prices of cloathing purchased within such state.[32]

There should also be a sub-clothier or clerk from every state, constantly with the army; to receive and distribute the cloathing, see that the goods brought correspond with the invoices, and that the issues are made conformable to some general rule established, to do justice to the public, to regiments and to individuals.

The rule I would propose for issuing and distributing cloathing is this; That the captains of companies in the first place give certificates, containing the names of his Men, with the particular wants of each: That these be digested into a regimental return signed by the officer commanding the regiment: That the pay Master draw the cloathing, lodging the regimental return, so signed, with the Clothier as a Voucher for the delivery, who is to keep an account with the regiment for the same: That the paymaster, retaining the certificates for his own government, distribute the cloathing to the Men, agreeable to them, taking their receipts and keeping an exact account with every individual; which he can easily do, as he is supposed to have accounts open for their Monthly pay: And that all cloathing delivered to the Men be given credit for in the pay rolls, with accounts signed by the sub-clothiers, annexed, for the information of the Pay Master General.

[32] The resolves of Nov. 22, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

To make soldiers look well and bestow proper attention and care upon their cloathes, they ought to receive them at stated periods. This gives a taste for decency and uniformity and makes the Officers regardful of the appearance of the men; a matter of no small moment in an Army, as tending to promote health, and foster a becoming pride of dress; which raises soldiers in their own esteem and makes them respectable to their enemy.

The periods I would fix upon for delivery are on the first days of June and January. In June should be given a waistcoat with sleeves, flannel, if to be had, two pair of linnen overalls one shirt, a black stock of hair or leather, a small round hat bound and a pair of shoes. In January, a waistcoat to be worn over the former, close in the skirts and double breasted resembling a sailors to have a collar and cuff of a different color, in order to distinguish the regiments, a pair of breeches, woolen overalls, yarn stockings, shirt, woolen cap, and a blanket, when really necessary. Watchcoats ought, if possible, to be provided for sentinels. Whatever might be furnished more than these, the soldier ought to have stopped out of his pay, upon the terms fixed by Congress, in their late resolve: A list of the cloathing to be kept by the commanding officer of each company, an inspection into them made at least once a Week, and punishment inflicted, or restitution made, for every article missing unless well accounted for. If it could be done, which is much to be doubted, it would be well to discriminate the troops of each state, by the colour of their cloathes and each regiment by that of the collar and cuff.

If this plan could be adopted, and a quantity of supernumerary articles laid in, for occasional demands, our men would appear infinitely better, be much healthier, and the army a great deal stronger, than it commonly is.

The Clothier General ought to be authorised and directed to enter into contracts, for as large quantities as possible, of shoes

and stockings to be manufactured in the Country. These are articles that can least be dispensed with, and the deficiency of which we have most severely felt. A Mr. Henry of Lancaster, I am told would contract for one, or two hundred thousand pair of shoes, annually, to be paid for in raw hides. The number of cattle killed for the consumption of the army, enables us to make this contract to great advantage.

OF THE QUARTER MASTER GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

In this department, are comprehended, Forage Masters, waggon masters, artificers &c. with all their appendages. It is a department of great trust and magnitude, on the due administration of which all the operations of an army essentially depend. The person who fills it, ought to be a military character, a man of abilities, of business and activity, well versed in the resources of the country and of sufficient prudence and rectitude, to exercise his office, in drawing the necessary supplies, in a manner least distressing to the inhabitants.

His duty requiring him to be almost constantly with the army, to see and know its wants, superintend the movements of his department in the different branches, and to prevent or rectify the abuses that may be creeping into it, he will stand in need of assistants, to execute the business abroad under his direction. It is not easy to ascertain the number of these assistants, that will be required: circumstances vary and must govern. But I cannot forbear observing, that some measures ought to be taken, to restrain that extravagant rage of deputation, now too prevalent among us. It has served to create a number of mere sinecures, and to render the execution of every office more perplexed, more expensive and less satisfactory than formerly, both to the army and country.

I should imagine, that a great part of the business of this department might be managed by contracts with people capable

of performing them and bound by sufficient securities. This would unburthen the public of large sums now paid in stationary wages, often for temporary purposes, and would perhaps answer the end of supplies better. Standing wages are very apt to beget indolence and inattention, and commonly continue an incumbrance, when the cause, that gave rise to appointments, ceases to exist, from the difficulty of throwing off the persons to whom they were given; on which account they ought to be avoided, whenever any point can be effected without them.

I am also unacquainted with the number of persons, the Quarter Master General may find it necessary to employ in camp or elsewhere, as storekeepers, clerks, and the like; but under the [head?] of these remarks, I have given my opinion of all the assistant Quarter Masters required in the subordinate duties of the office in Camp. More than these should not be allowed. Division Quarter Masters, Forage and Waggon Masters should be abolished.

Who may be in contemplation to fill the place of Quarter Master General is as yet to me unknown,[33] and equally indifferent, provided he be a fit person. But in making the appointment, not a moments time should be lost: The least procrastination will be extremely prejudicial, as the season is already far advanced, which we ought to be improving in preparations for the next campaign.[34] Everything is to be done; the old waggons to be repaired, new ones provided, horses and pack saddles procured, Bell tents for arms and tents for the Men, haversacks and knapsacks made, tools of different kinds prepared, and artificers and waggoners engaged.

And here I shall take occasion to declare, that however inconvenient it may be to the Quarter masters to provide, or

[33] Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin, Quartermaster General of the Continental Army, had resigned Nov. 7, 1777.

[34] Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene was appointed Quartermaster General of the Continental Army by Congress Mar. 2, 1778; he served until Sept. 30, 1780.

expensive to the public to pay for waggoners, it ought nevertheless, at all events, to be done. Soldiers are drafted for waggoners and many other purposes, by which their services in the line are intirely superseded, while they actually compose a part of our numbers, and appear on the returns to compose part of our strength. This may be tolerated in quarters or in a season of inaction, though even then the soldiers would be better employed, in learning the duties of their profession, but it ought not to be submitted to in the progress of the campaign, as has been of late the unvariable practice.

Several new regulations, will I believe be necessary in the Forage department, the particulars of which, the Gentleman at the head of it, will be best able to point out.

One thing I shall observe, that the manner of paying the Forage master has been a subject of discussion. It has been suggested that the allowing a commission, instead of a fixed determinate pay, opens a wide door to fraud and peculation. In mentioning this not the least insinuation is intended to the prejudice of the Gentleman now acting in this capacity, it is merely hinted as a matter worth consideration on general principles. I think however it may be safely asserted, that the assistant forage masters are not, in general so accurate as they ought to be, in receiving or delivering forage, and that, depending too much upon the farmers reports and their own conjectures, the public pays for much more than they receive.

We have to lament that we are suffering exceedingly from a scarcity of forage; an article not less essential to the well being of an army, than that of provisions. Should we be able to shift through the winter, this want will be no small obstacle and delay to our operations in the spring; especially, as we are exhausting the small stock now on the spot, which will probably be the immediate scene of them. We have numbers of Horses

dying daily, for the want of provender; what then must become of them, when it grows scarcer, and the distance to fetch it greater? How are magazines to be formed under these circumstances? And without Magazines, how are our horses to be supported in the early part of the next campaign; when their numbers shall be greatly augmented? These are serious questions, not easy of solution, and are proposed, that every exertion may be made to avert an evil of no small consequence.

A Waggon Master General is a necessary officer, and there would be a great saving to the public, if the duties of the office were discharged by an active careful man, who would make a judicious choice of deputies, and not be himself above his business, as has been the case with most of those heretofore in this line. They have been apt to indulge fantastical notions of rank and importance; and assume titles very inapplicable to their stations; which have served to destroy a great part of their usefulness; and make them the objects of general contempt and resentment. This inconvenience must be obviated in future, by allowing no rank to any of them, from the highest to the lowest.

The number of Assistants requisite cannot be precisely ascertained, as it must depend upon the number of waggons. There must be one to each brigade to superintend the baggage waggons; but how many will be wanted to take charge of forage, provisions and for a variety of other purposes, I am at a loss to judge. This must be left to the quarter master general of whose department this is a branch and to the waggon master general, who is the immediate agent. One deputy however to every twenty waggons appears to me fully sufficient.

The men employed in this capacity should be plain, sober, diligent Men, acquainted with the management of horses and waggons, and untainted with absurd fancies of gentility; who

would understand the end and design of their appointment, and not consider the means of making themselves useful, as a degradation of their imaginary dignity.

I shall close this head with an observation on the mode, hitherto in practice, of estimating and paying for damages, done by the army in quarters, or in the field; which appears to me objectionable, on several accounts. The payments have usually been made, on certificates of appraisement by farmers or other persons in the neighbourhood of the parties injured, chosen by themselves, and whenever the accounts were presented and there was money in hand to pay them.[35] This mode is unequal and gives the injured party an evident advantage over the public; and has no doubt in many instances been attended with gross impositions. Besides this defect, it would probably promote the service and be productive of more regularity; if a fixed time was appointed, when these payments should be made. There would not be such frequent large drafts upon the Quarter Master, in the most active part of a campaign, when he wants money for more pressing exigencies, and the entries of his disbursements might be made with more order and exactness, if these were deferred to a time of greater leisure. It is submitted, in the first place whether the appointment of two, or more persons would not be proper to accompany the army constantly, for the purpose of ascertaining damages, with a like number

[35] In what seems to be the first draft of this letter, in Alexander Hamilton's writing, is the following, in Washington's writing, which appears to have been intended for insertion at approximately this point, but was afterwards discarded:

"Among the many hardships which the Inhabitants, who happen to live in the rout of an army experience, is that of destruction of Fences; wch. in spite of all the vigilance and care that can be used will, and in some cases must, from necessity, be taken for firing, to the great detriment of the proprietor, or ultimately to the Public, and no method has yet been adopted to estimate the damage by any just rule, or any rule at all, by which means the sufferer is left to ascertain his own loss or, which amounts nearly to the same thing, get two of his neighbours who either are, or expect to be in the same predicament to do this which involves the public, if she pay it, in great"

of persons, chosen by the party interested; whose certificates should be a sufficient justification to the Quarter Master, for paying them; and, in the second place, what time or times would be proper to satisfy demands of this nature. Perhaps two different periods would be best, both in the interval of tranquillity; one a little after the entrance of the army into Winter Quarters, and the other just before the opening of the campaign.

OF THE COMMISSARY'S DEPARTMENT

This department has been all along in a very defective and for some time past, in a very deplorable situation. One important change has already taken place in it; since which it has been with the utmost difficulty we were able to keep the army together. Whether this proceeded from the revolution being ill-timed, or too great, from the difficulties in the way of executing the office being multiplied, or from the present Gentleman, at the head of it, not having yet had leisure to digest his plan and form his connexions, I shall not undertake to determine. But unless a very considerable alteration shortly takes place, I see no prospect of adequate supplies for the succeeding campaign. To attempt supplying the army from hand to Mouth (if I may be allowed the phrase) scarcely ever having more than two or three days provisions beforehand, and sometimes being as much in arrears, is a dangerous and visionary experiment. We shall ever be liable to experience want in the most critical conjunctures, as we have frequently done heretofore; and to suspend or forego the most interesting movements, on account of it.

Whether the first establishment of this department, the present, or the mode of supplying the army by contract, at certain stipulated rates, be preferable; is a question not for me to decide, though well worth a strict and candid examination. But I

shall not scruple, in explicit terms to declare, that unless ample magazines are laid up in the course of this winter and the approaching spring, nothing favourable is to be looked for, from the operations of the next campaign; but our arms, enfeebled by the embarrassments of irregular and fluctuating supplies of provisions, will reap no other fruits than disgrace and disappointment. To obviate this, no possible exertion should be omitted; the ablest and best qualified men in the several states, whence provisions are drawn, should be called forth to aid in the matter; such as are acquainted with the resources of the country and may have been conversant in business of the kind.

The choosing of fit places for Magazines in defensive war, is equally momentous and difficult. Expence and hazard are naturally incident to them; because the possible movements of an enemy must ever be conjectural and it is precarious, when, where and, often, how they are to be removed. According to present appearances, magazines any where in the rear of the army from Lancaster to the North River would not be amiss, and the more numerous they are, the better; as their mutiplicity, decreasing the importance of each, would leave no one a sufficient object of enterprise; enhance the trouble of destroying them, and lessen the labour and expence of forming them in the first instance.

Whether the Commissaries should be dependent upon the Quarter masters, for teams, or be empowered to provide for themselves, is a matter they can perhaps best settle between themselves. But it is necessary they should come to some agreement or determination upon the subject, to remove the inconveniences hitherto incurred on this score; the Commissaries having frequently imputed the deficiency of supplies to a want of the means of transportation.

It is a point of prodigious consequence, and in which we have been amazingly deficient, that vinegar, vegetables and soap should be regularly and abundantly furnished to the army; nothing contributing, more than this, to the health, comfort and contentment of soldiers. Certainly, there are no insurmountable obstacles to doing it; and if not, no pains should be spared to accomplish so valuable an end.

A ration should be more precisely defined than it now is, and the quantity of spiritous liquors allowed the soldier, fixed. It should also be considered, whether any and what quantity should be allowed officers at the public expence; at all events, the Commissaries should be obliged to provide for them, if at their own charge, as they would otherwise have no opportunity of getting it, and in the hard and fatiguing service they pass through, it is indispensible, even to the most temperate men.

OF THE HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT

There ever has been and, I fear will continue, difficulties and imperfections in this department. What they are particularly, or whence arising, it is not in my power minutely to enter into, as I have neither had leisure nor opportunity to examine its present constitution with a critical eye. One powerful reason, no doubt, of its not producing so fully the advantages to be hoped for, from it, is the extreme scarcity of proper supplies for the accomodation of the sick.

But one thing, which has had a very pernicious influence, is the continual jealousies and altercations, subsisting between the hospital and regimental surgeons. They seem always to be at variance, and recriminating the sufferings of the sick upon each other. The Regimental surgeons complain that for want of medicines and other necessaries, they are disabled from giving that assistance in slight cases, and in the first stages of more

dangerous complaints, which would serve to check their progress to maturity, and save the lives of the soldiery: The hospital surgeons reply, that their stores are incapable of bearing the excessive drafts, which the profusion and carelessness of the regimental surgeons would make upon them, if indulged in their demands.

I shall not attempt to decide the merits of this dispute; nor can I conceive any adequate mode of adjusting the difference. But one would imagine, it might not be impossible to fix some general rule of allowance, by which the supplies to regimental surgeons might be regulated; and to make them accountable for the right and œconomical application of what they received.

At all events, as the accomodation of the sick and the preservation of men's lives are the first and great objects to be consulted; the regimental surgeons ought not to be destitute of a reasonable quantity of medicines and other conveniencies, of which the sick stand in need. The ill effects of it are many and glaring. Either men, at every slight indication of disease must be sent away to distant hospitals, and the army unnecessarily deprived of the services of numbers, who, if the means were at hand, might in a day or two be restored; or they must remain without proper assistance, till their diseases confirm themselves and with regard to many, get beyond the power of cure.

Other ill consequences, that have attended the sending so many men away, to a distance from the army, are desertions and the waste of arms and cloathing; for which reasons, it ought to be avoided as much as possible. To prevent these evils, as far as it can be done, a field Officer is stationed at each hospital, to see the arms of the soldiers carefully deposited at their admission into it, take care of them in their convalescent state, and send them on to join their regiments, under proper Officers so soon as they are fit for duty.

OF THE PAY MASTER GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

This department is well conducted so far as depends upon the Gentleman at the head of it; but the want of money, which too frequently happens, is extremely injurious to our affairs. It is unnecessary to observe, that besides feeding and cloathing a soldier well, nothing is of greater importance than paying him with punctuality; and it is perhaps more essential in our army, than in any other, because our Men are worse supplied and more necessitous; and the notions of implicit subordination, not being as yet, sufficiently ingrafted among them, they are more apt to reason upon their rights and readier to manifest their sensibility of any thing, that has the appearance of injustice to them; in which light they consider their being kept out of their pay, after it is due. Nor does the evil end here; the inhabitants, who through choice, accident, or necessity, have any pecuniary concerns with the army, finding themselves frequently disappointed in the payments they have a right to expect, grow dissatisfied and clamorous; the credit of the army, and which is nearly the same thing, the credit of the continent is impaired, our supplies of course are impeded, and the price of every article we want, raised.

This circumstance is not among the least causes of the depreciation of our currency.

OF THE COMMISSARY OF MUSTERS' DEPARTMENT

The duties of this office are, I believe, discharged with fidelity and care by the Gentleman at the head of it. No complaint has ever come to my ear, either of him, or his deputies.

OF THE COMMISSARY OF PRISONERS' DEPARTMENT

The business of this department, as far as I am yet capable of judging, is in good hands and going on in a proper train.

OF AUDITORS OF ACCOUNTS

The want of such an institution has been much felt, and I am very happy it is at length adopted. The sooner the gentlemen appointed enter upon the execution of their office, the better, as much necessary business waits their regulating hand. The public has sustained a loss of many thousands, which might have been prevented, by the negligence, dishonesty and death of numberless officers.

Having run through the different distributions of the army, as composed of horse and foot, with all the departments depending thereon; and offered such remarks as occurred to me on the several subjects, I proceed to the mention of two departments commonly considered as separate and distinct, the Artillery and Engineering.

OF THE ARTILLERY DEPARTMENT

This department, if the arrangements and measures in contemplation, meet with proper countenance and support, bids fair to be upon a very respectable establishment. A plan was agreed upon, not long since, between General Knox, and myself, for the formation of four batalions, which was intended to be presented to Congress; that, if approved by them, it might be recommended to the several states: It is now submitted to the consideration of the Committee.

We have at this time, three imperfect batalions of Artillery in the field, besides some detached companies which have never been regularly incorporated. These together make 1370, including officers; to which, Harrison's batalion of Virginia being added, would amount to 1970. The deficiency of the four batalions on this state, will be 910, which, it is proposed, should be raised by the different states, agreeable to the following arrangement:

Virginia, Harrison	10 Companies at 60 each.		600	
Maryland ... to raise	2	do ... do	120	
A batalion of	12 Companies			720
Pensylvania, Proctor	8	present. 251		
to raise		229	480	
Jersey, Clark and Randall	2	do ... 55		
to raise		65	120	
raised at large, Lee, Porter, Jones to be thrown into	2	95		
		Wanting. 25	120	
Connecticut &c., Lamb		Present. 399		720
New York, Beauman & Doughty	2 Companies present. 73			
to raise		47		
			120	
New Hampshire ... to raise	2	do	120	
Rhode Island ... do	1		60	
		wanting for the batalion	21	
1 batalion				720
Massachusetts, Crane	12 Companies		497	
to raise			223	
1 batalion	12 Companies			720
Four batalions Amtg. to				2880

In the above are included all the officers, except the brigadier, field and staff officers, and if completed would prevent the necessity of the pernicious practice of drafting from the batalions.

General Knox communicated to me, more than two months ago an estimate of Ordnance and Ordnance stores, which he had prepared to send to the board of war, for the supplies of the next campaign agreeable to their request. Nothing more is necessary, than an inquiry what has been done in consequence.

I shall take the liberty in this place to give it as my opinion, that any arsenal or depository of stores at Albany, in the present situation of the North River, is improper. It would be too easily accessible and exceedingly liable to be surprised and destroyed. Indeed it ought to be a general rule to have every kind

of magazines as far advanced into the interior parts of the country, and as remote from the sea coasts, or from the sides of Navigable rivers, as the nature and design of them will permit. We have seen the effects of not attending duly to this precaution.

OF THE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

The Gentleman at the head of this department appears to be a man of science, knowledge in his profession and zeal in the cause. He complains, that he has not assistant Engineers enough, to execute the various duties of his office, and wishes for an augmentation of the number. He also proposes that three companies of workmen should be formed to be instructed in the fabrication of all kinds of field-works, so far as relates to the manual and mechanical part; whose business it should be to teach the fatigue parties to execute the works with celerity and exactness, which could not otherwise be expected from men entirely unpracticed in the matter: These companies, he would have to consist of a Captain, three lieutenants, four serjeants, four corporals and sixty privates each: The commissioned officers to be intelligent and skilled in some branches of the Mathematics; the non-commissioned officers to be sober sensible men, and capable of writing a legible hand, and the whole corps to consist of Men of good characters, of diligence and integrity. In consideration of these qualifications, and the extra-duty, confinement and hazard, they must encounter, being always foremost in danger, to repair the injuries done any fortification by the enemy's fire, and to prosecute works in the face of it, the corps is to have extraordinary pay. This proposition appears reasonable and promises a degree of utility that outweighs the cost.

These companies, if formed, are to be solely under the direction of the Chief Engineer, and to have the care of all the intrenching tools of the army.

CONCLUSION

I shall now in the last place beg leave to subjoin a few Matters unconnected with the general subject of these remarks, or not recollected in their proper places to which the attention of the Committee is requested. What is to be done with the foreign officers who have been commissioned and never designated to any particular command, and who cannot, without displacing others, be brought into the line? Such of them as possess a competency of military knowledge and are otherwise men of character, I have sometimes thought, if they understood enough of our language, might be employed as Assistant inspectors. At other times, I have judged it best, if practicable, to form them into a corps by themselves, but most of them being field Officers, the difficulty of getting men for such a corps, unless deserters and prisoners were inlisted (which I have ever looked upon as impolitic) appeared to me an insurmountable objection.

The enemy have set every engine at work, against us, and have actually called savages and even our own slaves to their assistance;[36] would it not be well, to employ two or three hundred indians against General Howe's army the ensuing campaign? There is a Gentleman now in camp, who would, I imagine, be able to bring half that number of Cherokees, and I should think the Reverend Mr. Kirkland might be able to influence a like number of the Northern tribes. Such a body of indians, joined by some of our Woodsmen, would probably strike no small terror into the British and foreign troops, particularly the new comers. The good resulting from the measure, if these savages can be kept in the field at so great a distance

[36] On Jan. 2, 1778, Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum suggested throwing the two Rhode Island regiments into one and sending the then supernumerary officers back to the State to obtain recruits. "It is imagined that a Batalion of Negroes can be easily raised there. Should that Measure be adopted, or recruits obtained on any other Principle, the Service will be advanced." Varnum's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. (See Washington's letter to Gov. Nicholas Cooke, Jan. 2, 1778, *ante*.)

from their native haunts, would more than compensate for the trouble and expence they might cost us.

Colo. Morgan, when he left camp, desired to know whether he might engage any good riflemen to serve during the next campaign in the light corps. He thinks he should be able to procure many, under assurances, that they would serve with him and be dismissed at the end of the campaign.

The difficulty of getting waggoners and the enormous wages given them, would tempt one to try any expedient to answer the end on easier and cheaper terms. Among others, it has occurred to me, whether it would not be eligible to hire Negroes in Carolina, Virginia and Maryland for the purpose. They ought however to be freemen, for slaves could not be sufficiently depended on. It is to be apprehended they would too frequently desert to the enemy to obtain their liberty; and for the profit of it, or to conciliate a more favorable reception, would carry off their waggon-horses with them.

A resolve of Congress of the 19th instant, provide that all continental officers prisoners with the enemy, either while in confinement with them, or on parole among us, "so long as they continue officers of the United States," should be entitled to their pay and rations, liable to a deduction for what they may have received while present with the enemy; and that all flying camp or militia officers should be entitled to the same while in confinement with them only. This resolve excludes from pay all officers liberated on parole, who have not actual appointments in the Continental army; will it not be deemed a hardship and injustice to such officers; especially to those, who merely from their absence, have been neglected in arrangements posterior to their capture, as has been too much the case? While they continue prisoners, whether in possession of the enemy, or out on parole, they can have little opportunity of prossecuting any

business for a livelihood, and must be in distressful situation, unless they have a private fortune sufficient to maintain them.

It has in many instances happened, that officers in captivity have been omitted in promotions made in their absence; upon which a question has arisen whether there should not be a restoration of rank with respect to those who are men of merit. It seems but reasonable there should.

Several new regulations will, I imagine, be found useful in the articles of war; which the Judge Advocate, from his official experience of the deficiency, can more accurately indicate. One thing, we have suffered much from, is the want of a proper gradation of punishments: the interval between a hundred lashes and death is too great and requires to be filled by some intermediate stages. Capital crimes in the army are frequent, particularly in the instance of desertion: actually to inflict capital punishment upon every deserter or other heinous offender, would incur the imputation of cruelty, and by the familiarity of the example, destroy its efficacy; on the other hand to give only a hundred lashes to such criminals is a burlesque on their crimes rather than a serious correction, and affords encouragement to obstinacy and imitation. The Courts are often in a manner compelled by the enormity of the facts, to pass sentences of death, which I am as often obliged to remit, on account of the number in the same circumstances, and let the offenders pass wholly unpunished. This would be avoided, if there were other punishments short of the destruction of life, in some degree adequate to the crime; and which might be with propriety substituted.[37] Crimes too are so various in their complexions and degrees, that to preserve the just rule of proportion, there ought to be a gradual scale of punishments; in order to which,

[37] See Council of General Officers, Aug. 24, 1778, *post.*

whipping should be extended to any number at discretion, or by no means, limited lower than five hundred lashes.

Upon the whole Gentlemen, I doubt not you are fully impressed with the defects of our present military system, and the necessity of speedy and decisive measures, to put it upon a satisfactory footing.[38] The disagreeable picture, I have given you, of the wants and sufferings of the army, and the discontents reigning among the officers, is a just representation of evils, equally melancholy and important; and unless effectual remedies be applied without loss of time, the most alarming and ruinous consequences are to be apprehended. I have the honor, etc.[39]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, January 29, 1778.

Parole Northumberland. Countersigns Norway, Norton.

The Commanding Officer of each brigade is to appoint a Captain daily to visit the sick of his Brigade in or near Camp, to examine whether they have proper attention paid them and are furnish'd with everything their situation requires as far as circumstances will allow. Likewise an orderly officer every day

[38] The difficulties of raising men for the army at this time are pictured in Tench Tilghman's letter to Lieut Col. Aaron Burr (January 30). A captain who was advanced $200 for recruiting bounties found, after enlisting a few men, that he could not compete with the high State bounties. He was allowed, therefore, to "take back the men that he has enlisted and repay the 200 Dollars." Four of these men were in Burr's regiment, so Tilghman requested their delivery to the captain. Tilghman's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[39] The text is from the original report, which seems to have been left with Washington by the committee. It is 38 folio pages in length, in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, signed by Washington, and indorsed by Francis Dana. Prior to the arrival of the committee of Congress at Valley Forge, Washington requested the opinion of the general officers, in writing, upon a "proposed new establishment and regulation of the army." The foregoing report is based upon these observations of the general officers, which are in the *Washington Papers* and entered in a group in the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

On January 29 John Fitzgerald answered a letter of January 28 from Col. Walter Stewart, by direction of Washington, approving an alternation of dragoon picket guards as a means of checking provisions being taken into Philadelphia and directing

to inspect the hutts to see whether cleanliness is observed in the soldiers quarters and proper means taken to keep the roofs weather proof. The Commissaries in future to issue a quart of salt to every hundred pound of fresh beef.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Friday, January 30, 1778.

Parole Portugal. Countersigns Prussia, Poland.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col. Clark[40] was President January 23rd., William McMarth of Captain Lee's[41] Company of Artillery tried for desertion and stealing an horse from General McIntosh acquitted of the charge of desertion but found guilty of the Theft, being a breach of Article 5th. Section 18th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back and have one half of his pay stoped monthly from him 'till General McIntosh is fully satisfied. The Court on account of the Prisoner's having sustained heretofore the character of a good soldier, recommend him to His Excellency's clemency with respect to the corporal punishment.

The General remits the stripes, approves the rest of the sentence and orders it to take place.

At a General Court Martial whereof Major Church[42] was President January 26th., Ensign Cook[43] of 12th. Pennsylvania Battalion tryed for leaving his guard before he was properly relieved (it being an Out-Guard) found guilty of a breach of

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the seizure of cloth in some fulling mills near Newtown, Pa., which belonged "to rich Quakers, and People of this County, much disaffected, who are by no means in want of Cloathing." Fitzgerald's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

"This day [January 29] I was on fatigue building a brest work to defend the Middle line of the Camp."—*Military Journal of George Ewing* (Yonkers: 1928. Privately printed).

[40] Col. Thomas Clark, of the First North Carolina Regiment.

[41] Capt. James Lee, of the Second Continental Artillery.

[42] Maj. Thomas Church, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[43] Ensign John Cook.

4th. Article of 13th. Section of the Articles of War and unanimously sentenced to be cashiered with Infamy.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

To THE OFFICERS VISITING HOSPITALS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January [30?] 1778.

The Commander in Chief being informed, that many disorders and irregularities have taken place at the Hospitals, and that in some the Sick are not tended with due care, thinks it necessary that each Hospital should be visited by a prudent and careful Field Officer, who should govern himself by the following Rules.

1st. Upon his arrival at the Hospital or Hospitals assigned him, he is to take accurate Lists of all the Sick, their Names and the Regiments to which they belong, and transmit the same to the Adjt. General.

2d. If there be any Arms, accoutrements or Ammunition at the Hospitals, he is immediately to take charge of them, making an inventory of them, and of the Soldiers Names and Regiments to whom they belong. So many of these Arms as will be necessary, are to be put into the Hands of such Soldiers belonging to the Hospitals as the Chief Surgeon there shall judge fit to perform the duty of guards to the Hospital. These guards are, as fast as possible, to prevent and Quell all disorders and Riots at the Hospitals, by confining the offenders; To suffer no patient to go beyond the limits of the Hospital without a written licence from the Chief Surgeon attending; and to inforce obedience to such regulations as the directors or Chief Surgeons of the Hospital shall judge necessary for the Health and best good of the patients and the service.

3d. He is to make or cause to be made exact lists of all the Articles of Clothing and necessaries belonging to the patients and when any new patients arrive, he is to demand the lists of their Names and Regiments, and of their Clothing and Necessaries; and if lists of either be wanting, or if their Arms, accoutrements or ammunition are sent with them, the Names of the Officers so sending them are to be reported to the Adjt. General, that they may be punished therefore agreeable to the General Orders, issued 12th November last. These lists of the Clothing and Necessaries of new patients, are upon their arrival to be compared with the Clothing and Necessaries the Soldiers actually have with them, that if any article be wanting, due inquiry may be made for it; and if not found, the person thro whose fault the deficiency happens is at a proper time to be punished or charged with the article missing, or both as the circumstances shall justly warrant.

4th. When any Non commissioned Officer or Soldier shall die, an exact account is to be taken of whatever effects he dies possessed of, above his Regimental Clothing, Arms and accoutrements, and transmitted to the Board of War. But his Regimental Clothing is to be carefully preserved, and issued to such recovered Man, as must need the same, who are to be charged therewith and an account thereof transmitted to their Commanding Officer when they are sent to Camp.

5th. As fast as the patients recover and are judged by the Director or Surgeon of the Hospital to be fit for duty, the Field Officer is to send them to Camp, under the care of some Commissioned Officer, or if the number be small, of a trusty Non Commissioned Officer, and if such are wanting, then to give notice to ye Adjt. General, of the number ready to march to Camp, that he may find the Necessary Officers to conduct them.

6th. He is to reside at the most convenient distance from the Hospital or Hospitals under his inspection and visit them daily,

if in the same Town, and if not, then very frequently, at least twice a week. He is to examine critically, whether the Sick are well taken care of, and if in his opinion there be any fault or neglect in their Management, to report the same to the Director General of the Hospitals or one of his Deputies, and if a remedy be not applied in a reasonable time, then to report the same to the Commander in Chief. But he is to avoid disputes with the Surgeons of the Hospitals and not interfere with them in the management, diet or Medicines of the Sick.

7th. For any disorders committed at the Hospitals by the Non commissioned Officers or Soldiers, he is to cause the Offenders to be tried and punished by Courts martial, if three or five Officers can be assembled for that purpose; otherwise he must retain the disorderly by his own authority.

8th. He is to collect all stragglers from the Army, who may be in the vicinity of the Hospitals, and send them under proper Officers to Camp.

9th. All Non commissioned Officers and Soldiers thus sent to Camp, are to be accompanied with lists of their Names, Regiments, Clothing and Necessaries, and, if they have any of their Arms, Accoutrements and Ammunition, and addressed to the Adjt. General. But besides general Lists of the whole, which are to be left with the Adjt. General, Seperate Lists of the Men of each Brigade are also to be sent with them, which are to be delivered to the Brigadiers with the Men, on their arrival in Camp.

Lastly. He is to suffer no officer to remain at or near the Hospitals after they are declared by the directing surgeon to be fit for duty. If any are tardy or shew an unwillingness to join the Army, he is to report their Names immediately to the Adjt. General.[44]

[44]The text for this is found only in the Varick Transcripts of the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It is not dated, but is copied at a point which places the probable date at January 30.

To JAMES[?] NOURSE

Valley Forge, January 30, 1778.

Sir: By a letter from Genl. Lee of the 30th Ulto. which came to hand the 26th instant, he seems to be anxious about the state of his farm and affairs and requests me "to recommend the care of them to you and Mr. White." I have taken the earliest opportunity to inform you of his desires on these subjects, and have no doubt but you will render him every service in your power. I am happy to acquaint you, that though he is still a prisoner, his condition is comfortable, being on parole in the City of New York and treated with much Civility. It is highly probable that he will soon be enlarged under that restriction, as Major Genl Prescott is ordered to be sent in for that purpose on the same terms. I am, &c.[45]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, January 30, 1778.

Sir: I have duly received your Letter of the 19th. Inst. It is unnecessary to enter minutely into its contents; since the inclosed Resolutions of Congress[46] will shew you, that the Matter is now put upon a footing different from that mentioned by Mr. Boudinot[47]; which, at the same time, you will be pleased to consider, as final and decisive, and to regulate your Measures accordingly.

I shall be glad as soon as possible to be favoured with your determinations in consequence, especially on those parts numbered

[45] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The same letter was sent to Alexander White at Winchester, Va.

[46] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 19, 1777.

[47] Elias Boudinot. He was Commissary General of Prisoners of the Continental Army; resigned in May, 1778; later a Delegate to Congress from New Jersey and President of Congress.

in the Margin of the Resolves, to which I must request a speedy and explicit answer.

There is one passage of your Letter, which I cannot forbear taking particular notice of. No expressions of personal politeness to me can be acceptable, accompanied by reflections on the Representatives of a free People, under whose Authority I have the Honor to act. The delicacy I have observed in refraining from every thing offensive in this way, entitled me to expect a similar Treatment from you. I have not indulged myself in invective against the present Rulers of Great Britain, in the course of our Correspondence, nor will I even now avail myself of so fruitful a Theme.[48]

The Quarter Masters permitted to go with the Cloathing, appeared to me sufficient for the purpose. For tho' the Prisoners are in different places, yet they lie chiefly on a direct communication. If upon any future occasion you should conceive a greater number requisite, you will inform me of it previous to their coming, and I shall be ready to comply, as far as I think myself justified.

Whether your sending out more than one British Quarter Master was an encroachment upon the spirit of the Agreement between us, shall not now be a matter of discussion, but can it be said there is anything in it, that can reconcile the coming out of Captn. McCleod.[49] I have the Honor, etc.[50]

[48] Howe had written, protesting against Boudinot's notification that the British would have to send in provisions for the British prisoners in American hands, beginning February 1: "Mr. Boudinot does not mention by whom this Measure is threatened to be adopted: But it is so repugnant to the Rules of War in all civilized Nations, and so marked with Inhumanity, that I cannot persuade myself it has been derived from your Advice; and I am unwilling to suspect that even the present Rulers of this Country, are so entirely lost to all Sense of Honor, and to all feelings of Humanity, as to pass an Edict for the deliberate Destruction of those whom the Chance of War has thrown into their Hands." This was a curious thing for Howe to write, in view of the fact that he had some time previously decreed that the American prisoners of war in his hands would have to be fed by the Americans. Howe's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[49] Capt. Norman McLeod, of the Seventy-first Foot, British Army.

[50] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

*To HENRY LAURENS

Valley Forge, January 31, 1778.

Sir: I this morning received your favor of the 27th. Ulto.

I cannot sufficiently express the obligation I feel to you for your friendship and politeness upon an occasion in which I am so deeply interested. I was not unapprized that a malignant faction had been for sometime forming to my prejudice; which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account; but my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences, which intestine dissentions may produce to the common cause.

As I have no other view than to promote the public good, and am unambitious of honours not founded in the approbation of my Country, I would not desire in the least degree to suppress a free spirit of enquiry into any part of my conduct that even faction itself may deem reprehensible.

The anonymous paper handed you[51] exhibits many serious charges, and it is my wish that it should be submitted to Congress; this I am the more inclined to, as the suppression, or concealment, may possibly involve you in embarrassments hereafter; since it is uncertain how many, or who may be privy to the contents.

My Enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me; they know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy

[51] This anonymous paper was dated Jan. 17, 1778, and headed "The Thoughts of a Freeman." It was, Laurens wrote Washington (January 27), "picked up on the Stairs" of Congress Hall and handed to Laurens, who, after glancing at it, "put them into my pocket and intimated to the House that it was an anonymous production containing stuff which I must be content with, as perquisites of Office, that the hearth was the proper depository for such Records." Laurens showed the paper to no one before finally sending it to Washington, who, from his letter above, appears to have returned

deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insiduous attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets, it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure; the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merits and talents, with which I can have no pretensions of rivalship, have ever been subject to it. My Heart tells me it has been my unremitted aim to do the best circumstances would permit; yet, I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may, in many instances deserve the imputation of error.

I cannot forbear repeating that I have a grateful sense of the favourable disposition you have manifested to me in this affair, and beg you will believe me to be, with sentiments of real Esteem, etc. [M.L.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, January 31, 1778.

Sir: I have been honored with your several favors of the 14th, 19th, 22d and 25th Inst. in due order with their Inclosures, which shall have my attention. My application in preparing and digesting matters for the consideration of the Committee who are now in Camp prevented me acknowledging them before. The packet for Governor Livingston which accompanied the first Two, I transmitted him the next day by a careful hand and hope it got safe to him.

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it to Laurens to be communicated to Congress, but there is no record as to any further action. Laurens's letter is in the President's "Letter Book" in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

A copy of "The Thoughts," in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, is in the *Washington Papers.* It is 3 folio pages in length and consists of 45 propositions or statements, all of which either reflect directly on Washington's management of the army or insinuate that such management deserved investigation by Congress. Sparks prints "The Thoughts," taking liberties as to form, etc., in the appendix to his *Writings of Washington* (vol. 5, p. 497).

The inclosed Copy of a Letter and memorial from General Foreman I would take the liberty of laying before Congress. Supplying the Army with Salt is a matter of infinite importance, and if it can be accomplished, it is very much to be desired. How far General Foreman may succeed in his Experiments I cannot determine; But, from every account there is a favourable prospect of his manufacturing a considerable quantity of this necessary essential article. For the greater security of the works against the Enemy's Tenders &c. he prays to be furnished with a guard of Fifty Men. His requisition is submitted to Congress, and they will be pleased to determine upon it, in such manner as they may think proper. I have the honor, etc.[52]

To COLONEL ISRAEL ANGELL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 1, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of Yesterday. As it is my wish to cut off the intercourse with Philadelphia, as effectually as possible, I desire that no passes may be granted by you to any persons, upon any pretence whatsoever, and that you will do all in your power to apprehend those who attempt to go into the City with Marketting. There is no way so likely to put a total stop to this practice, as making an example of some notorious offender. If therefore you can hear of any person who has made a practice of going to Philadelphia with Provisions or Horses, I would wish you to take pains to have him apprehended. I am, etc.[53]

To MAJOR JOHN JAMESON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 1, 1778.

Sir: The quantity of provision, Flour especially, that is carried into Philadelphia is by all accounts so great that the British

[52] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[53] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

Army is well supplied with almost every Article. The committee of Congress now here having expressed a desire that this pernicious intercourse may be cut off as effectually as possible, I know of no other way to prevent the supply of Flour, but disabling the Mills, as we have not Guards sufficient to stop all the Roads. You are therefore, in concert with Genl. Lacey to fix upon a certain time and attempt to disable all the Mills upon Pennepack, Frankfort, and Wissahicken Creeks, beginning Morris's at Frankfort, Vanderen's on Wissahicken and Lewis's at Pennepack and proceed as far as the people usually come out for Flour. As it will be impossible for you to remove the Stores, I am advised to take off the spindles and saw off the spikes of the water wheels. This you will therefore do as soon as possible. The whole must be began upon the same time, that you may have proceeded some distance before the Enemy can get notice. You must be fully sensible of the necessity of secrecy, and therefore none should be intrusted but the Officers who are to execute the business, and those should be such who have no connections in the part of the Country where the Mills are. Nothing will convince the Market people that we are in earnest, till an example is made of one of them, and I therefore desire you will use your endeavours to apprehend some notorious offender, against whom there will be proof and send him here for trial; seize all the provision and the Horses, and Carriages drove by Women and Boys, many of whom are employed, as they think indulgence will be allowed on account of Sex and Age. I am, etc.[54]

To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Valley Forge, February 1, 1778.

Dear Sir: I will just write you a few lines in acknowledgment of your letter of the fourteenth ultimo, which was detained by

[54] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

the posts, not being able to cross Susquehanna, till the evening before last. I congratulate you upon the birth of another daughter, and Nelly's good health; and heartily wish the last may continue, and the other be a blessing to you.

The money received for your land was, I think, well applied, unless you could have laid it out for other lands more convenient; which method I should have preferred, as land is the most permanent estate we can hold, and most likely to increase in its value. Your mamma is not yet arrived, but if she left Mount Vernon on the twenty sixth ultimo, as intended, may, I think, be expected every hour.[55] Meade[56] set off yesterday (as soon as I got notice of her intention) to meet her. We are in a dreary kind of place, and uncomfortably provided; for other matters I shall refer you to the bearer, Colonel Fitzgerald,[57] who can give you the occurrences of the camp, &c., better than can be related in a letter. My best wishes attend Nelly and the little ones, and with sincere regard I am &c.[58]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Sunday, February 1, 1778.

Parole Rockingham. Countersigns Richmond, Rutland.

The Brigade Quarter-Masters are to call on the Assistt. Quarter Master General at the Adjt. Genl.'s Office tomorrow morning at ten oClock for their proportion of 320 camp kettles.

In Congress, June 10, 1777.

Resolved, That the Commissaries General of Purchases and Issues, and their respective deputies for neglect of duty or other offences in their

[55] Mrs. Washington arrived in camp a day or two after this letter was written. She wrote to Mrs. Warren (March 7): "The general is in camp in what is called the great valley on the Banks of the Schuykill. Officers and men are chiefly in Hutts, which they say is tolerable comfortable; the army are as healthy as can well be expected in general. The General's apartment is very small; he has had a log cabben built to dine in which has made our quarter much more tolerable than they were at first." This letter is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[56] Lieut. Col. Richard Kidder Meade.

[57] Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald.

[58] The text is from Ford, who took it from Custis's *Recollections of Washington.*

respective offices shall be subject to military Arrest and trial by Order of the Commander in Chief or any General Officer commanding a Division of the Army, Post or Department where such neglect of duty or offence may happen; and the respective Assistants of the Deputy Commissaries General of Purchases and Issues shall for the same causes be liable to military arrest as Commissioned Officers in the Army, by any General Officer or any Officer commanding a detach'd post to which such Assistants may be assign'd.

The General directs that due attention be paid to the foregoing resolve.

The General Court Martial whereof Colo. Clark is President is dissolved.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Monday, February 2, 1778.

Parole Stafford. Countersigns Stillwater, Sutton.

A General Court Martial to sit tomorrow 9 oClock A. M. whereof Colo. Wigglesworth is appointed President, a Captain from each Brigade will compose the Court.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, February 2, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 26th Ulto.

The recent detection of the wicked design[59] you mention gives me the most sensible pleasure; and I earnestly hope you may be alike successful in discovering and disappointing every attempt that may be projected against you, either by your open or concealed enemies. It is a tax, however, severe, which all those must pay, who are called to eminent stations of trust, not only to be held up as conspicuous marks to the enmity

[59] To assassinate Livingston.

of the Public adversaries to their country, but to the malice of secret traitors and the *envious intrigues* of false friends and factions.[60]

I am obliged to you for the interest you take in the affair of the two Hendricks and Meeker;[61] and I have no doubt that the measures adopted, are, considering all things, best.

You are pleased to intimate, that you would take pleasure in recommending, at the approaching Session of your Assembly, any hints from me respecting the Army, by which your State can advance the general interest; I should be happy in offering any such in my power; but, as there is now in Camp a Committee of Congress to confer with me at large, on the measures proper to be adopted in every respect for the benefit of the Army, whatever shall be thought necessary to this end, will of course be communicated to you by Congress. I have the honor, etc.[62]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Tuesday, February 3, 1778.

Parole Ticonderoga. Countersigns Toledo, Taunton.

A report having circulated that Mr. Jones,[63] Deputy Commissary General of Issues had granted a pass to a woman to carry thirty pounds of butter into Philadelphia; The matter was fully inquired into and appears to be without foundation.

[60] In the draft the following has been crossed out: "It is easy to bear the first, and even the devices of private enemies whose ill will only arises from their common hatred to the cause we are engaged in, are to me tolerable; yet, I confess, I cannot help feeling the most painful sensations, whenever I have reason to believe I am the object of persecution to men who are embarked in the same general interest, and whose friendship my heart does not reproach me with ever having done any thing to forfeit. But with many, it is a sufficient cause to hate and wish the ruin of a man, because he has been happy enough to be the object of *his Country's* favour."

[61] John and Baker Hendricks and John Meeker, spies of Colonel Dayton in the summer of 1777. (See Washington's letter to Governor William Livingston, Jan. 20. 1778, *ante*.)

[62] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[63] Thomas Jones.

To ELIAS BOUDINOT

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: A Letter from Congress will accompany this containing two resolutions relative to prisoners. You will perceive by them that Congress go upon the presumption of our furnishing our prisoners in the Enemy's hands wholly and intirely with provisions. Their fixing no rule for liquidating and accounting for the rations heretofore supplied by the Enemy, is a proof that they do not intend them to continue, but expect our prisoners will hereafter be altogether victualled by ourselves. This is a matter, it will be necessary to attend carefully to, both that a competent supply be immediately ready for the purpose, and that there be no deficiency in future, otherwise the consequences may be dreadful, for the past conduct of the enemy gives too much reason to apprehend they would not be very apt to relieve want, which we had undertaken wholly to administer to. I am, etc.[64]

To DOCTOR THOMAS BOND

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: In answer to your letter of yesterday, I am sorry to inform you, that however willing to oblige your father and yourself, I do not think I can with propriety comply with your request. I cannot suppose your father would mean to make the least ill use of the privilege he wishes for; but every indulgence of this kind becomes a precedent for others, and you will easily be sensible that it must be inexpedient, to admit any person to a free intercourse with the country, who is actually *in the power* of the enemy. It is necessary all communication should

[64] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

be intercepted between the Country and City, which I am endeavouring to effect. I am, etc.[65]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, February 3, 1778.

Sir: On the Ulto., I had the honor to receive your favor of the 27th with the Copies alluded to. As the proceedings of Congress in this instance, seem to imply, that our Unfortunate people in the hands of the Enemy are to be victualled by us, I have only to wish that the Supplies may be constant and plentiful. I have transmitted your letter to Mr. Boudinot who is out of Camp, and have requested his most pointed attention to the business. I have also written to Genl. Howe upon the occasion and inclosed him One of the Copies. In my next, I shall take the liberty of transmitting you a Copy of my Letter to him on this head, and of some Others which have lately passed between us. I have the honor, etc.

P. S. I wish a Supply of Money to be sent, as soon as possible. Our distresses for want of it, are not easily to be described. What Mr. Palfrey brought with him was not sufficient to pay the Troops *for November by 250 or 300,000 Dollars.* The demands were immense, most of the Eastern Troops having had four or five Month's pay due them and some more. The Army now in general has *three months pay in arrear,* exclusive of the Month's Extra pay, and besides this, the Quarter Master is pressing for large drafts for the purposes of his Department, tho' he received a proportion of the Money which came with Mr. Palfrey.[66]

[65] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[66] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. Indorsed as read in Congress February 5, and referred to the Board of Treasury.

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, February 4, 1778.

Sir: I have received your two Letters of 29th. and 31st. of last Month. The forming any considerable deposit of Forage at Trenton, while you have so small a Force to protect it does not appear to me advisable, as the Enemy may, with the greatest facility, destroy it.

My approbation of Capt. Craig's appointment, was signified in my last Letter; I cannot at any rate consent to your giving Mr. Zelienski[67] the Commission of first Lieutenant; his character has not yet been cleared from a charge of a very serious nature, brought against him by Colo. Moylan, and this circumstance apart, which is of itself a sufficient reason for at least suspending his appointment, there may be a concurrence between him and other Officers who may have better pretensions. A court martial ought immediately to be held for the Trial of this Gentleman in pursuance of the order given long since. I am not at Liberty to take notice of any ex parte relation in affairs of this nature, whatever evidence you may have in favour of Mr. Zelienski, will properly come before the Court, and when I am furnished with their proceedings I shall be able to judge of the matter.

The Committee have now under consideration, the means of recruiting and remounting the Cavalry, their determination will be transmitted for your government, as soon as it is made.

You will be pleased to transmit me an exact Return of the Cavalry immediately, and hereafter to continue to make accurate Weekly Returns. I am desirous of submitting your Pattern

[67] John de Zielinski. He became a captain in Pulaski's Legion in April, 1778; died in September, 1779.

Saddle to the inspection of the Committee, you will therefore send it to Camp without delay.

As Mr. Worsham[68] is so well recommended by the Officers of his Regiment, I have no objection to his filling one of the vacancies in it. I am, etc.

P. S. Inclosed is a Letter to Govr. Livingston relative to the three Troops of Jersey Horse. The bearer will deliver one thousand Flints for the use of the Cavalry.[69]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 4, 1778.

Sir: Brigr. Genl. Count Polaski informs me, that there are three Troops of Jersey Horse who would enter into the Continental Service for a short time, if they could obtain your Excellency's consent. They will be a very great relief to our Horse, if they can be spared and will answer another very valuable purpose. We find that our common Dragoons are not proof against the bribes offered to them, by the people who are constantly carrying provision to the City of Philadelphia, so that instead of cutting off the intercourse, they encourage it, by suffering many to pass who pay them for it. If it is agreeable to you, that the Horse above mentioned should be taken into the service, be pleased to signify it to me by a line. I have the honor, etc.[70]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Wednesday, February 4, 1778.

Parole Ulster. Countersigns Uxbridge, Upton.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Clark was President January 27th. Charles Smith a Soldier in 1st. New Jersey

[68] William Worsham, quartermaster sergeant of the First Continental Dragoons. He was made cornet Feb. 4, 1778; lieutenant in 1780; served to November, 1782.

[69] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[70] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Regiment tried for desertion and inlisting again as a substitute and acquitted. The General approving orders him to be immediately released.

The most pernicious consequences having arisen from suffering persons, women in particular to pass and repass from Philadelphia to camp under Pretence of coming out to visit their Friends in the Army and returning with necessaries to their families, but really with an intent to intice the soldiers to desert; All officers are desired to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent such interviews in future by forbiding the soldiers under the severest penalties from having any communication with such persons and by ordering them when found in camp to be immediately turned out of it.

If any of them appear under peculiar circumstances of suspicion they are to be brought to immediate trial and punishment, if found guilty.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Thirsday, February 5, 1778.

Parole Vandalia. Countersigns Vermont, Vidona.

In Congress June 10.

Resolved, That for the future the Quarter Master or other Person drawing provision for any Regiment Corps or Detachment shall on the last day of every month make out an abstract of the number of retain'd rations due to each Officer respectively and also the number of each part of a ration due to each regiment corps or detachment and deliver the same to the respective issuing Commissary who shall compare it with his books and finding it right shall certify thereon that the several charges in the abstract are just and that such a sum as he shall find to be due should be paid to the respective Pay-Masters of the Regiment Corps or Detachment who shall annex the said abstract to the Pay-Roll, that the Pay-Master or Deputy Pay-Master General of the district may pay and he is hereby required to pay such ration abstract to the Regimental Pay-Master who is directed to pay the respective officers and soldiers and

take their receipts; and when any regiment Corps or detachment or Issuing Commissary is ordered to leave a Post before the end of a month, the ration abstracts shall be made up to the time of his or their leaving their post and certified by the Commissary as aforesaid.[71]

It is expected that due attention will be paid to the aforegoing resolve and no abstracts for retain'd rations or back allowance to be received or deemed valid unless certified as specified therein.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Friday, February 6, 1778.

Parole Winchester. Countersigns Weston, Wells.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Clark was President January 27th. Lieutt. William Williams of 13th. Virginia Regiment tried for repeatedly behaving unbecoming the Character of an officer and a Gentleman, 1st. in buying a pair of Continental shoes from a soldier and thereby rendering the soldier unfit for service; 2ndly. for messing and frequently sleeping with the soldiers, taking their bread and not returning it by which the soldiers suffered with hunger; acquitted of the charge of taking the soldiers bread and not returning it by which they suffered with hunger, but found guilty of behaving unbecoming the character of the officer and gentleman in buying a pair of Continental shoes from a soldier, and in messing and frequently sleeping with the soldiers being a breach of 21st. Article, Section 14th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to be discharged from the service. His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

[71] This resolve forms Article XXXVIII of the regulations for the Commissary Department, agreed to in Congress. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress,* June 10, 1777.)

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, February 6, 1778.

Sir: As the resources of this Country in point of fresh Provision are nearly exhausted, and the Army under my command is in consequence literally reduced to a starving condition, it becomes indispensibly necessary for us to avail ourselves, as much as possible, of our more distant supplies, and not to suffer any part of them to be diverted into other Channels; which has, I am told, been heretofore in some instances the case by your direction. for the future, I beg you will consider it as explicitly contrary to my intention that any Cattle ordered for the use of this Army should be stopt short of their destination. Every diminution is an object in times of such scarcity. You have a ready substitute in Salt Provisions, of which I am informed there are ample Stores within your reach, whereas to us, at this distance, no considerable advantage can be derived from this article, by reason of the great difficulty attending its transportation. I am &ca.[72]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Valley Forge, February 6, 1778.

Sir: I must take the liberty of addressing you on a subject, which, tho' out of your sphere, I am fully persuaded will have every possible attention in your power to give. It is the alarming situation of this Army on account of Provision. I shall not undertake, minutely to investigate the causes of this, but there is the strongest reason to believe, that its existence cannot be of long duration, unless more constant, regular and larger

[72] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

supplies of the meat kind are furnished, than have been for some time past. We have been once on the brink of a dissolution in the course of the present year, for want of this Article, and our Condition now is but little better. What is still more distressing, I am assured by Colo. Blaine, Deputy Purchasing Commissary in the Middle district, comprehending the States of Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, that they are nearly exhausted in this instance; and that the most vigorous and active exertions on his part will not procure more than sufficient to supply the Army during this Month, if so long. This being the case, and as any relief that can be obtained from the more Southern States, will be but partial, trifling and of a day, we must turn our views to the Eastward, and lay our account of support from thence. Without it we cannot but disband. I must therefore Sir, entreat you in the most earnest terms and by that zeal which has so eminently distinguished your Character in the present arduous struggle, to give every countenance to the person or persons employed in the purchasing line in your State, and to urge them to the most vigorous efforts to forward supplies of Cattle from time to time, and thereby prevent such a Melancholy and alarming Catastrophe. As I observed before, this subject is rather out of your Province, yet I know your wishes to promote the Service, in every possible degree, will render any apology unnecessary, and that the bare state of facts will be admitted as a full and ample justification for the trouble it is like to occasion you. I have the honor, etc.[73]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Saturday, February 7, 1778.

Parole Yorkshire. Countersigns Yarmouth, York.

The Brigade Major of the day will in future take the names of the officers who mount guard, the names of the guard they

[73] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

are appointed to command and the regiments to which they respectively belong.

Likewise the names of the serjeants that are to attend as orderlies at the Adjutant General's quarters and their respective regiments who are regularly to be brought on to the parade at guard mounting; These names to be delivered to the Adjt. General at orderly-time.

To HENRY CHAMPION[74]

February 7, 1778.

Sir: The present situation of the Army is the most Melancholy that can be conceived. Our supplies in provisions of the flesh kind, for some time past, have been very deficient and irregular, a prospect now opens of absolute want, such as will make it impossible to keep the Army much longer from dissolving, unless the most vigorous and effectual measures be pursued to prevent it. Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland are now intirely exhausted. All the Beef and Pork already collected in them, or that can be collected, will not by any means support the Army one Month longer. Further to the Southward some quantities of Salt provisions have been procured; but if they were all on the spot, they would afford but a very partial and temporary supply. The difficulty of transportation is great; The distance will not allow it to be effected by land Carriage; and the navigation up Chesapeak Bay is interrupted by the Enemy's Vessels, which makes it very precarious when we shall get any material relief from that quarter. To the Eastward only can we turn our eyes with any reasonable hope of timely and adequate succour. If every possible exertion is not made use of there, to send us immediate and ample supplies of Cattle, with pain I speak the alarming truth, no human efforts can keep the Army from speedily disbanding.

[74] Deputy Commissary General of Purchases.

[I have much confidence in your zeal and activity and I trust upon this occasion they will be exerted in a peculiar manner to hurry on to Camp all the Cattle you may be able to purchase.]

I have desired Colo. Blaine to give you a just state of our situation, and to send an active man in his Department to you, to *hurry on* to Camp whatever Cattle you may be able to purchase. I cannot forbear, so urgent is the necessity of the case, accompanying his representation by a similar one from myself. You are called upon by every motive, that ought to influence you in your official capacity and as a well wisher to the Army, to strain every nerve and exert your utmost activity towards affording us the assistance we indispensably stand in need of, and without a moment's loss of time. I persuade myself you will duly consider the infinite importance of leaving nothing undone that may be in your power; and as I know the State of Connecticut abounds in the Article we want, I flatter myself we shall not be left to feel the calamitous consequences with which we are now threatened.

Mr. Blaine will inform you of the quantity of Cattle we require for an instant supply, to be at Camp by the latter end of this month. This you will push forward with all expedition; and continue your most zealous endeavours to preserve us hereafter from experiencing the same distresses and embarrassments to which we have been heretofore too frequently exposed. I have written to Governor Trumbull to beg his concurrence and aid in this matter, of which I doubt not you will properly avail yourself.

I am informed there are considerable quantities of Salt provisions laid up in New England; as it is inconvenient, tedious and extremely expensive to transport them to this Army, I have

directed General Putnam, to make use of them almost wholly, for the Troops under his command, and to let all the Cattle that can be procured come on to us, which will be equally conducive to dispatch and œconomy. As far as this may depend upon you, I should wish the rule to be strictly observed. I am, etc.[75]

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN[76]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 7, 1778.

Sir: The occasional deficiencies in the Article of Provisions, which we have often severely felt, seem now on the point of resolving themselves into this fatal Crisis, total want and a dissolution of the Army. Mr. Blaine informes me, in the most decisive terms, that he has not the least prospect of answering the demands of the Army, within his district, more than a month longer, at the extremity. The expectations, he has from other Quarters, appear to be altogether vague and precarious; and from any thing I can see, we have every reason to apprehend the most ruinous consequences.

The spirit of desertion among the Soldiery, never before rose to such a threatening height, as at the present time. The murmurs on account of Provisions are become universal, and what may ensue, if a better prospect does not speedily open, I dread to conjecture. I pretend not to assign the causes of the distress, we experience in this particular, nor do I wish to throw out the least imputation of blame upon any person. I only mean to represent our affairs as they are, that necessity may be properly felt, of exerting the utmost care and activity, to prevent the

[75] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, with the paragraph in brackets in that of Robert Hanson Harrison. This same letter was sent to Peter Colt, commissary general of purchases, Eastern Department, in which, however, the bracketed paragraph was omitted.

[76] Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.

mischiefs, which I cannot forbear anticipating, with inexpressible concern. I am, etc.

P. S. I shall be glad to have from you a just state of what we have to expect, at the expiration of this month and in the course of the ensuing spring.[77]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, February 8–14, 1778.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your Favor of the 3d Instant and with its Inclosure.

As General McDougall's late severe illness and present feeble state, will not permit him to proceed on the intended incursion into Canada, Baron de Kalb will follow the Marquis agreeable to his wish and the direction of Congress.

According to the promise contained in my last, I take the liberty of transmitting you Copies of such Letters, as have lately passed between Genl. Howe and myself.

February 12.

Since writing the above, I have received another Letter from General Howe of the 5th. Instant, Copy of which and of my Answer you have also inclosed.[78] By these you will perceive, that he has proposed a General exchange of prisoners and that I have acceded to it. I have written to Mr. Boudinot, Commissary in this line, requiring his return to Camp, and shall give him directions to pursue the most speedy measures for accomplishing this business, so interesting to the unhappy Officers and Men in General Howe's hands, and to the cause of Humanity. There are some other matters, as you will discover, which I could not enter upon.

[77] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

[78] According to Charles Thomson's indorsement, these inclosures were: Sir William Howe's letters to Washington, Jan. 8, 18, 19, and Feb. 5, 1778; Washington's letters to Howe, Jan. 8, 20, 30, and Feb. 10, 1778. All of these letters, except that from Howe to Washington, January 8, are in the *Washington Papers*.

The situation of the Affairs of the Army has not till lately made it convenient to go into the inquiry, directed by the Resolve of the 28th of November of the losses of the Forts Montgomery and Clinton, in the state of New York and of Fort Mifflin in the Delaware. With respect to the two former, it happens, that almost all the principal Officers acting in that quarter, were in some way or other so far concerned in the affair, as to make them improper for prosecuting the inquiry. I therefore propose to send Officers from this Army: If his health will permit, I should wish General McDougall to preside. His thorough knowledge of those posts and all their connexions, qualifies him in a peculiar manner for the purpose. I have written to him on the subject.

With respect to Fort Mifflin, the inquiry involves very extensive considerations, and more or less affects almost all the General Officers in this Army, whose advice and concurrence in the measures taken, make them in some degree parties. The mode in my opinion, most unexceptionable to be pursued is for Congress, to authorise a Committee of their own body, or to delegate any other persons they may chuse to intrust, not connected with the operations of this Army, to go into the business.

February 14.

Your Several favors of the 7th and that of the 8th Inst. were duly received yesterday evening.

As soon as circumstances will admit, I shall appoint a Court Martial in the case directed, and shall notify the parties concerned of the same.

The Oath which Congress have prescribed to be taken by the Officers of the Army, I shall publish in General Orders and the mode how it is to be done with directions about the certificates.

I shall extend Lt Colo. Dyer's[79] Furlough to the first of April as required. I have the honor, etc.[80]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, February 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have to request, that you will, without loss of time, make a return of the Troops under your command belonging to the State of Connecticut, to His Excellency Governor Trumbull. It is necessary this return should be very exact and particular, as it is intended for the information of the assembly, in the measures they may think proper to take, towards completing their Battalions. Among other things, you will specify the time or times for which the men are engaged; and the number of each. I shall also be glad of a complete return of all the Troops at present under your command. I am, etc.[81]

To COLONEL JOHN HAWKINS STONE

Valley Forge, February 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: On the 29th. Ulto. I received your favour of the 22d. I have not the least objection to Lt. Colo. Smith's taking the Command of your Regiment, till you or Lt. Colo. Forrest are in a condition to appear in the Field. This I shall be happy to hear of.

I thank you much for your wishes for my Honor and happiness, and you have mine very sincerely for your immediate and perfect recovery.[82] I am, etc.[83]

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[79] Lieut. Col. Thomas Dyer, of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment. He resigned Apr. 11, 1778.

[80] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[81] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. Practically the same letter was sent this same day to Brig. Gen. John Nixon at Albany.

[82] Colonel Stone had been wounded at Germantown, Pa., in October, 1777. He resigned in August, 1779.

[83] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER[84]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 8, 1778.

Sir: I observe by a Return of Military Stores made the 12th. January, that there were 5000 Muskets unfit for service in the Magazine at Albany. I most earnestly desire that you will use your utmost endeavours to have them put into repair by the opening of the next Campaign. I also observe, by the same Return, that there is a considerable deficiency of Bayonets, which you will endeavour to make up if you have Armourers skilled in that branch of business. The loss and abuse of Arms in the course of a Campaign, in which we are obliged to call in large Bodies of Militia, is so great, that unless the utmost attention is paid to the repair of the Old, our Stock must soon be exhausted, for, of all the new imported last year, it is amazing how few remain in the different Magazines. As soon as you have any considerable quantity rendered fit for service be pleased to inform me that I may call for them when and where wanted. I am, etc.[85]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Valley Forge, February 8, 1778.

My Dear Sir: I have been favored with your letters of the 24th of Decemr. and 20th ulto. and thank you for the several articles of Intelligence contained in them. Although it is devoutly to be wished that Soldiers could engage for three years or the war, yet I am perswaded it would not be consistent with good policy to attempt it at this time; consequently, that the plan of drafting for twelve months only is a wise measure. If the states would exert themselves, and Congress would bend their whole force to one point, the most satisfactory and

[84] Commissary of military stores at Albany, N. Y.
[85] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

decisive effects might I think result from it, but if they go to frittering their army into detachments, for the accomplishment of some local and less important purpose, the campaign will be wasted, and nothing decisive (on our part) attempted. It is our business to crush, if possible the army under Genl. Howe's immediate command; this once done the branches of it fall of course, and without it, the body will always afford nourishment to its members. My fear is, that Virginia, by attempting too much will do too little, or in other words by attempting to raise 5000 volunteers (which more than probable will not succeed) the Drafts for your regiments will be impeded, and after all unless some vigorous exertions can be used to supply with provisions, men will avail little, for you can have no conception of our deficiency in this article.

It is with pain and grief I find, by your Letter of the 20th ulto, that our Countrymen are still averse to Inoculation, especially when consequences so apparently ill, must result from it. The artillery and other Regiments of Infantry I was in hopes of seeing here as soon as the Roads and weather should be a little settled, as they will want a little disciplining before the Campaign opens to fit them for the purposes of it.

You gave me reason, my dear Sir, to believe, I shall see [you] at Camp in the spring. I shall rejoice at it, or to hear of your being in Congress again, as I view with concern the departure of every Gentln. of independent spirit from the grand American Council.

Nothing of much importance has happened since my last. We have lost a good many men, and Horses, by hard fare in our present Quarters; but hope we have seen the worst, especially with respect to the first, as most of the men are now in tolerable good Hutts. Faction had begun to rear its head, but the heads of it unmasked, I believe, too soon. An expedition is

also on foot against (rather into) Canada, which I am well persuaded is the child of folly, and must be productive of capital ills, circumstanced as our affairs are at present; but as it is the first fruit of our new board of War, I did not incline to say any thing against it. Be so good as to present my respectful compliments to your Lady, uncle and friends, and believe me to be with perfect esteem and regard, &c.[86]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Sunday, February 8, 1778.

Parole Zebulon. Countersigns Zembla, Zealand.

The General Officers are requested to meet ten o'Clock tomorrow morning at Genl. Varnum's quarters to take into consideration the propriety of altering the present ration. The Commissary Genl. proposes that instead of the rations heretofore allowed there shall be issued a pound and an half of flour one pound of beef or three quarters of a pound of salt pork and a certain quantity of spirits. Mr. Blaine will attend this meeting.

Officers who are desirous of taking Commissions in the company of sappers, under the Command of Brigadier General Du Portail and possess the necessary qualifications, such as the knowledge of practical Geometry and drawing will give in their Names at the Adj. General's office; Three Captains, three first and three second Lieutenants are wanting.

In future the Reveille will beat at day-break; the troop at 8 in the morning; the retreat at sunset and taptoo at nine o'Clock in the evening. To render this duty uniform, the drummer's call to be beat at the right of the front line and answered throughout that line; then through the second and Corps of Artillery begining at the left; The Reserve to follow the second line.

[86] The text is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress, said to have been copied from the original, in Washington's writing, in 1860.

Immediately upon this three rolls to begin and run through in like manner as the call; then all the drums of the Army at the heads of their respective Corps should go thro' the regular beat, ceasing upon the right which will be a signal for the whole to cease.

At a General Court-Martial whereof Colo. Proctor[87] was President Feby. 5th. 1778, Lieutt. Grey[88] of Colo. Lamb's Regiment of Artillery tried for absenting himself from Camp without leave, being guilty of theft and other behavior unbecoming the character of an officer and gentleman, found guilty of ungentleman, unofficer like behavior in absenting himself from camp without leave; associating with a soldier, robbing and infamously stealing, unanimously sentenced to have his sword broke over his head on the grand parade at guard mounting, that he be discharged the Regiment and rendered incapable of serving any more as an officer in the Army and that it be esteem'd a crime of the blackest Dye, in an officer or even soldier to associate with him after the execution of this just, though mild punishment.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the Sentence and orders it to be put in Execution tomorrow morning at guard mounting.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colonel Clark was President Jany. 22nd., Thomas Butler an Inhabitant of the State of Pennsylvania tried for attempting to carry flour into Philadelphia, found guilty of the charge being a breach of a Resolution of Congress dated October 8th. 1777, extended by another resolution made for the purpose of cutting off all communication

[87] Col. Thomas Procter, of the Fourth Continental Artillery. He resigned in April, 1781.

[88] The name of Lieutenant Grey, or Gray, does not appear in "New York in the Revolution." Heitman gives him as Gray, but without a Christian name or mention of the State from which he came.

of Supplies or Intelligence to the Enemy's Army and sentenced to receive two hundred and fifty lashes on his bare back.

At the same Court Thomas Ryan an Inhabitant of the State of Pennsylvania tried for being taken on the night of 13th. of January last in company with Thomas Butler with eight quarters of mutton and a bull beef on his way into Philadelphia found guilty of the Charge being a breach of a resolution of Congress above mentioned and sentenced to pay the sum of Fifty pounds and to be confined in the Provost guard-house 'till that sum is paid to the Adjutant General to be applied for the use of the sick in Camp.

At the same Court January 22nd. William Maddock an Inhabitant of the State of Pennsylvania tried for attempting to drive Cattle in to the Enemy, found guilty of the charge, being a breach of a resolution of Congress aforementioned and sentenced to pay the sum of one hundred pounds and to be confined in the Provost Guard-House until that sum is paid in manner aforesaid.

At the same Court-Martial Jany. 26th. Joseph Edward an Inhabitant of the state of Pennsylvania tried for attempting to drive Cattle in to the Enemy, found guilty of the Charge, being a breach as aforesaid, and sentenced to pay the sum of one hundred pounds and to be confined in the Provost Guard 'till that sum is paid to the Adjutant General out of which twenty dollars shall be paid to each of the Light-horsemen who apprehended the prisoner as an encouragement for their Activity and good conduct the rest to be applied to the use of the sick in Camp.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Wigglesworth was President Feby. 4th. Philip Kirk tried for supplying the enemy with cattle, found guilty and sentenced to be confined in some

Gaol in the State of Pennsylvania during the Enemy's stay in it and both his real and personal Estate to be taken from him for the use of The United States of America.

At the same Court-Martial John Williamson tried for supplying the enemy with Cattle found guilty of the Charge and sentenced to receive two hundred and fifty lashes on his bare back well laid on.

At the same Court David Dunn tried for supplying the enemy with Cattle found guilty and sentenced to receive two hundred and fifty lashes on his bare back well laid on.

At the same Court James Bowen tried for communication with the City of Philadelphia and acquitted.

At the same Court Jacob Gibbons tried for selling sheep to a butcher of Philadelphia and acquitted of the charge.

At the same Court Daniel Williamson tried for attempting to take a number of sheep into Philadelphia, found guilty of the charge being a breach as aforesaid and sentenced to receive two hundred lashes on his bare back.

The Commander in Chief confirms the aforegoing sentences, so far as they relate to corporal punishment, fines and imprisonment but remits the remainder being of Opinion that confiscation of property is a matter not cognizable by martial Law; The sentences of whipping to be put in execution tomorrow morning on the grand parade at guard mounting. A Surgeon from General Patersons Brigade to attend to see that the Criminals do not receive more lashes than their strength will bear. Tomorrow being the day appointed for opening the Market at the Stone-Chimney Picquet, The Army are desired to take notice of the same. Markets will be held at the same place every monday and thirsday. On the east side of Schuylkill near the new bridge every tuesday and friday and near the Adjutant General's Office every Wednesday and Saturday; certain prices having been

affixed to the several Articles mentioned in the hand-bills by a board of General-Officers, the same are to be strictly observed.

Printed hand-bills with the regulations at large will be delivered by the Adjutant General to the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades, who are desired to have the same read at the head of each regiment in the brigade and endeavor to convince the officers and soldiers of the necessity and expediency of observing the same punctually.

As a proper person for the Clerk of the market is not yet appointed, the officer commanding the picquet guard at the Stone-Chimney is desired to see the regulations of the market observed; he is also desired to distribute the hand-bills among the market people who attend it; It is expected that the numbers will be but few tomorrow as the notice has not had sufficient time to circulate through the Country.

*To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Valley forge, February 9, 1778.

Sir: I was duly favoured with your Letter of the 23d. of last Month; to which I shd. have replied sooner, had I not been delayed by business that required my more immediate attention.

It is my wish to give implicit credit to the assurances of every Gentleman; but in the subject of our present correspondence, I am sorry to confess, there happen to be some unlucky circumstances, which involuntarily compel me to consider the discovery you mention, not so satisfactory and conclusive as you seem to think it.

I am so unhappy as to find no small difficulty in reconciling the spirit and import of your different Letters, and sometimes of the different parts of the same Letter with each other. It is not unreasonable to presume, that your first information of my having notice of General Conway's Letter came from himself;

there were very few in the secret, and it is natural to suppose, that he being immediately concerned, would be most interested to convey the intelligence to you. It is also far from improbable, that he acquainted you with the substance of the passage communicated to me; one would expect this, if he beleived it to be spurious, in order to ascertain the imposition and evince his innocence; especially as he seemed to be under some uncertainty, as to the percise contents of what he had written, when I signified my knowledge of the matter to him. If he neglected doing it, the omission cannot easily be interpreted into any thing else, than a consciousness of the reality of the extract, if not literally at least substantially. If he did not neglect it, it must appear somewhat strange that the forgery remained so long undetected; and that your first Letter to me from Albany of the 8th. of Decemr. should tacitly recognize the genuineness of the paragraph in question; while your only concern at that time seemed to be "the tracing out the author of the infidelity, which put extracts from General Conway's Letters into my hands."

Throughout the whole of that Letter, the reality of the extracts is by the fairest implication allowed, and your only solicitude was to find out the person, that brought them to light. After making the most earnest pursuit of the author of the supposed treachery, without saying a word about the truth or falsehood of the passage; your Letter of the 23d. Ulto. to my great surprize, proclaims it "in words as well as in substance a wicked forgery."

It is not my intention to contradict this assertion, but only to intimate some considerations, which tend to induce a supposition, that though none of Genl. Conways Letters to you contained the offensive passage mentioned, there might have been something in them too nearly related to it, that could give such an extraordinary alarm. It may be said, if this were not the case, how easy in the first instance, to have declared there was

nothing exceptionable in them, and to have produced the Letters themselves in support of it? This may be thought the most proper and effectual way of refuting misrepresentation and removing all suspicion. The propriety of the objections suggested against submitting them to inspection may very well be questioned: "The various reports circulated concerning their contents," were perhaps so many arguments for making them speak for themselves, to place the matter upon the footing of certainty. Concealment in an affair, which had made so much noise, tho' not by *my* means, will naturally lead men to conjecture the worst; and it will be a subject of speculation, even to candor itself. The anxiety and jealousy you apprehended from revealing the letter, will be very apt to be increased by suppressing it.

It may be asked why not submit to inspection a performance perfectly harmless and of course conceived in terms of proper caution and delicacy? Why suppose that "anxiety and jealousy would have arisen in the breasts of very respectable Officers, or that they would have been unnecessarily disgusted at being made sensible of their faults when related with judgment and impartiality by a candid observer"? Surely they could not have been unreasonable enough to take offence at a performance so perfectly inoffensive, "blaming actions rather than persons," which have evidently no connexion with one another, and indulgently "recording the errors of inexperience."

You are pleased to consider General Conway's Letters as of a confidential nature; observing that "time and circumstances must point out the propriety or impropriety of communicating such Letters." Permit me to enquire, whether, when there is an impropriety in communicating, it is only applicable with respect to the parties, who are the subject of them. One might be led to imagine this to be the case from your having admitted others into the secret of your confidential corrispondence, at

the sametime that you thought it ineligible it should be trusted to those "Officers, whose actions underwent its scrutiny." Your not knowing whether the Letter, under consideration, "came to me from a Member of Congress, or from an Officer," plainly indicates that you originally communicated it to at least one of that honorable body; and I learn from Genl. Conway, that before his late arrival at York town, it had been committed to the perusal of several of its members, and was afterwards shewn by himself to three more. It is somewhat difficult to conceive a reason, founded in generosity, for imparting the free and confidential strictures of that ingenious Censor, on the operations of the Army, under my Command, to a Member of Congress; but perhaps "time and circumstances pointed it out." It must indeed be acknowledged, that the faults of very respectable Officers, not less injurious for being the result of inexperience, were not improper topics to engage the attention of Members of Congress.

It is however greatly to be lamented, that this adept in Military science did not employ his abilities in the progress of the Campaign, in pointing out those wise measures, which were calculated to give us "that degree of success we might reasonably expect." The United States have lost much from that unseasonable diffidence, which prevented his embracing the numerous opportunities he had in Council, of displaying those rich treasures of knowledge and experience he has since so freely laid open to you. I will not do him the injustice to impute the penurious reserve which ever appeared in him upon such occasions to any other cause than an excess of Modesty; Neither will I suppose he possesses no other merit than of that after kind of sagacity, which qualifies a Man better for profound discoveries of errors, that have been committed, and advantages that have been lost, than for the exercise of that foresight and provident discernment which enable him to avoid the one

and anticipate the other. But, willing as I am to subscribe to all his pretensions, and to believe that his remarks on the operations of the Campaign were very judicious, and that he has sagaciously descanted on many things that might have been done, I cannot help being a little sceptical as to his ability to have found out the means of accomplishing them, or to prove the sufficiency of those in our possession. These Minutiæ, I suspect, he did not think worth his attention, particularly, as they might not be within the compass of *his views*.

Notwithstanding the hopeful presages, you are pleased to figure to yourself of General Conway's firm and constant friendship to America, I cannot persuade myself to retract the prediction concerning him; which you so emphatically wish had not been inserted in my Last. A better acquaintance with him, than I have reason to think you have had, from what you say, and a concurrence of circumstances oblige me to give him but little credit for the qualifications of his heart; of which, at least, I beg leave to assume the privilege of being a tolerable judge. Were it necessary, more instances than one might be adduced, from his behaviour and conversation, to manifest, that he is capable of all the malignity of detraction, and all the meanesses of intrigue, to gratify the absurd resentment of disappointed vanity, or to answer the purposes of personal aggrandizement, and promote the interests of faction. I am etc.[89]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Valley Forge, February 9, 1778.

My Dear Sir: On the 20th. Ulto. I did myself the pleasure of writing you by Colo. Marshall, who was going to Boston, to

[89] A copy of this letter, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, is in the *Washington Papers*.

which place I had heard that you were gone. Lest my information should have been wrong on that head and you should still be at Albany, I transmit you a Copy of my Letter of that date by the Conveyance which now offers, and I am to request that you will, as soon as your condition will admit, repair to this Army.

No occurrence of importance has taken place of late, and I have only to add my best wishes for your immediate and perfect recovery and to assure you that I am, etc.[90]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Monday, February 9, 1778.

Parole Alexandria. Countersigns Adams, Allen.

On account of the inclemency of the weather the sentences of Courts-Martial which were to be put in execution this morning are postpon'd 'till tomorrow morning nine o'Clock in manner as specified in yesterdays orders.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, February 10, 1778.

Parole Baltimore. Countersigns Brent, Bond.

The Regimental Pay-Masters who have not yet received the pay of their respective Regiments for november last to call on the Pay-Master General next wednesday morning and receive the same.

The Meeting of the General Officers mentioned in orders of 8th. instant is postponed 'till tomorrow ten o'Clock in the forenoon, when it is desired they will attend at the place therein mentioned.

In case any Field-Officer ordered on duty should not be able to attend he will notify the Brigade Major (of the Brigade to which he belongs) thereof immediately who is to appoint

[90] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

another in the same Brigade; but if there is no other fit for duty to relieve him, notice to be given to the Adjutant General as soon as possible that another may be appointed.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 10, 1778.

Sir: I have been favored with yours of the 27th and 31st. Ultimo. The Officers and Men, belonging to the Artillery under the command of Major Stevens,[91] had been sent back, previous to the Receipt of yours of the 27th. I have always found great inconvenience in keeping small parties detached from their Corps.

You must have heard that the Officers who had the British Cloathing in charge, would not proceed further than Lancaster. They insisted upon and have returned to Philadelphia.

I cannot find, upon inquiry of Colo. Smith,[92] that there was any thing reprehensible upon the part of the Officers, he says on the contrary, that their behaviour was in his opinion strictly proper while under his Care. Lieut. Patterson[93] one of the Officers who attended them, also says, that their behaviour upon the journey was conformable to the terms of their parole.

I received a Letter from you of the 23d January on the subject of Cloathing said to be collected in this State for the use of the Pennsylvania Troops, and delivered out to the Army in *general.* There was a mistake in the representation of this matter to you. Soon after the Officers were sent out by me to collect cloathing they were recalled, by desire of the President, who informed me by a deputation from the Assembly, that they had appointed

[91] Maj. Ebenezer Stevens, of the Independent Battalion of Artillery. His battalion was annexed to the Third Continental Artillery in the fall of 1778. He was lieutenant colonel of the Second Continental Artillery from November, 1778; served to June, 1783.

[92] Lieut. Col. William Stephens Smith, of Lee's Additional Continental regiment.

[93] Lieut. William Patterson(?), of Grayson's Additional Continental regiment.

Commissioners for that purpose. What little was collected by the Officers, was distributed among the Men of their own Regiments. I do not believe that the Cloathier General ever received any of it on the general account. On the contrary, he complains that the State had taken a parcel of Cloth to their particular use, which he had purchased for the Continent. I am &c.[94]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, February 10, 1778.

Sir: I received yesterday the favor of your Letter of the 5th. Instant.[95]

In answer to what ever it contains concerning General Burgoyne's Army and the measures adopted relative to it, I have only to inform you, that this is a Matter in which I have never had the least direction. It lies wholly with Congress; and the proposals you make on this head, must be submitted to them; I have accordingly transmitted a Copy of your Letter, and shall be ready to forward you any Resolution they may take in consequence.[96]

I shall omit animadverting on your Observations, with regard to the allowance and treatment to Prisoners in your Hands. It is a subject which has been fully discused in the progress of our correspondence, and the necessity of a further investigation is superseded, by your now meeting me on the ground I have so long wished.

The Powers under which I act, are entirely derived from Congress, and must of course be subject to such modifications

[94] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. It is addressed to General Gates as president of the Board of War.

[95] Howe's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[96] Howe's letter protested against the detention of Burgoyne's troops. Maj. Gen. William Heath had informed Burgoyne that the Saratoga Convention troops would not be permitted to embark until all accounts for their subsistence and other necessaries were settled.

as they may think proper, according to circumstances, to prescribe. But, holding myself fully authorized by their Instructions and intentions, to avail myself of the reasonable Terms, you are at this time willing to adopt for the mutual relief of Prisoners, I shall explicitly close with your propositions to the following effect.

"That an Exchange of all Prisoners now in our possession, Officer for Officer, Soldier for Soldier and Citizen for Citizen, so far as number and rank will apply," be carried into execution, as expeditiously as the nature of the case will admit, and without regard to any controverted point, which might prove an impediment to so desireable an End. And here, as I may not clearly understand your meaning when you say "In the mean time I shall wait the arrival of the British Officers whom you have released upon their paroles, and shall without delay send an equal number to you in return"; I take occasion to request, that you will be pleased to favor me with an explanation; Whether you intend to consider such Officers on both sides, as still continuing under the Obligation of a parole, or as absolutely exchanged in pursuance of the General Cartel. I see no reason why an effectual exchange should not, at once, operate with respect to them.

I also agree that two Commissioners from me shall meet a like Number from you, on the 10th. day of March in German Town at the King of Prussia Tavern at 11 in the forenoon, to adjust, upon equitable Terms, the difference you mention, and such other matters, as they may be severally empowered to determine.

With respect to a general settlement of Accounts, as it comprehends points with which I have no Authority to interfere, it is not in my power to concur in the measure you suggest for

that purpose. I am under the necessity of referring it to the decision of Congress.

Considering a general exchange as finally agreed on between us, I shall, without delay, order the Prisoners in our hands to places in the vicinity of your different posts, as their respective situations may render most convenient; and shall give you notice as they arrive, that you may return a number equal to those sent in from time to time. I am, etc.[97]

*To ROBERT MORRIS

Valley-forge, February 10, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 19th. Ulto. by Colo. Armand came to my hands a few days ago. Rest assured my good Sir, that that Gentn. mis-conceives the matter exceedingly if he thinks my conduct towards him is influenced in the smallest degree by motives of resentment, arising from misrepresentn.

I have ever looked upon him as a spirited Officer, and every thing that was in my power to do for him (consistently with the great line of my duty) I have done; but the conduct which Congress unhappily adopted in the early part of this War by giving high rank to foreigners, who enoyed little or none in their own Country, and in many instances of equivocal characters; has put it out of their power without convulsing the whole Military system, to employ these people now; for viewing rank relatively, the man who has been a Major for instance, in the French Service finding a Subaltern (there) a field Officer in ours, extends his views at once to a Brigade, or at least to a Regiment, and where is either of them to be found? without displacing, or disgusting our own Officers, whose pretensions would be injured by it, and whose natural interest in, and attachment to the cause of their Country, is more to be relied on

[97] The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

than superior abilities in capricious foreigners; who are dissatisfied with any rank you can give them, while there is yet higher to attain.

With respect to the particular case of Colo. Armand, I have only to add, that if it was in my power to serve him, I would, notwithstanding he was influenced to resign in a pet. The Corps he commanded has, long since, been reduced to a mere handful of Men (under 50) and you are sensible that it is not in my power to raise any new ones without the authority of Congress.

Mrs. Washington who is now in Camp, desires me to offer her respectful complimts. to Mrs. Morris and yourself, to which be so good as to add those of, Dr. Sir, etc.[98]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Qurs. Valley Forge, February 10, 1778.

Sir: I have been honoured with your favours of the 15th. and 22d Ulto., with the several public Acts referred to inclosed. I most sincerely wish, *that* for compleating your quota, of Men, may be found adequate to the purpose, but I very much doubt it. I have ordered two proper Officers, from every Regiment belonging to your State, to repair to Lancaster and take their recruiting instructions from you.

I observe that the State have appointed Colo. Francis Johnson[99] to receive and distribute the Cloathing collected by the Commissioners. That Gentleman has not been able to do duty for some time, on account of his health; he is not in Camp at present, and I do not find that he is expected, I therefore most earnestly desire, that some other may be appointed, and that what Cloathing is collected may be immediately sent down.

[98] The editor is indebted to the kindness of George A. Ball, of Muncie, Ind., for a photostat of the original of this letter.

[99] Col. Francis Johnston, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Genl. Wayne brought a tolerable supply for the two Brigades under his command, but the 3d, 6th, 9th, 12th and 13th. Regiments are in great distress, and are the more uneasy and discontented, as they see their companions are provided for. Colo. Lutterloh Dy. Qr. Master General, informs me that he found a considerable quantity collected at Reading, waiting for an order to be sent forward. This being the particular property of your State, I did not think myself at liberty to interfere with it, but I hope you will immediately order it to Camp. It may come down by Water and save the labour and Expence of Waggons.

It certainly was never expected or intended, that the States should furnish their Officers with such Cloathing as was demanded of yours. The recommendation of Congress is, that each State should furnish their Officers and Men with proper (by which I understand decent and substantial) Cloathing, at a price in proportion to their pay, and that the loss which will arise between the first cost and the price at which it may be charged upon delivery, shall be defrayed by the Continent at large.

Inclosed you have the return of the Commissioned and Staff Officers of your State. You will observe that there are many promotions and vacancies to fill up. I put a stop to them until the new arrangement of the Army, now under consideration, shall be compleated. I have the honour &c.[1]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON

Valley forge, February 10, 1778.

Dear Sir: It is matter of no small grief to me, to find such an unconquerable desire in the Officers of this Army to be absent

[1]In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft by Tilghman, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

from Camp, as every day exhibits; and my feelings upon the occasion are not a little wounded by perceiving that this passion is more prevalent among my Countrymen, than in any other Troops in the whole Army. Mulenberg is now gone, you think it the hardest case imaginable that you are here, Woodford and Scott are also applying, the field Officers of all your Brigades are, in a manner, absent; a new arrangement of the Army is taking place, and important changes (to effect which properly, the aid of every Officer of Rank is necessary) is on the Carpet; and yet, I must attempt (for it can be no more than an attempt) to do all these duties myself, and perform the part of a Brigadier, a Colonel, &ca. (because in the absence of these every thing relative to their business comes directly to me), or, I must incur displeasure by the denial. I can see clearly that instead of having the proper Officers to assist in arranging, training, and fitting the Troops for the field against the next Campaign, that we shall be plunged into it as we were last year heels over head without availing ourselves of the advantages which might be derived from our present situation and prospects, if every Officer would lay his hands properly to the work, and afford those aids when I have a right to expect, and the Service requires instead of longing, and hankering after their respective homes. But I shall say no more, nor will I oppose your Inclination any longer than to request that you, Woodford and Scott, will, before you go give me your Sentiments of the Officers to be retaind, if a reduction should take place, with some other matters of a local nature which I cannot come at without assistance. With sincere regard and esteem I am, etc.

PS. The Comee. of Congress have direction from that body to settle the Rank of yourself, Woodford &ca. this ought to be done before you leave Camp. [HD.C.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge,
Wednesday, February 11, 1778.

Parole Constantinople. Countersigns Conway, Cortlandt.

Representation having been made by the Captains of the Pennsylvania line against the promotion of Michael Ryan Esquire to the Majority of a Regiment as irregular, he is suspended from doing duty in that rank 'till the matter can be adjusted by a proper board of officers.

At a division Court Martial whereof Lt. Colo. Sprout was President Feby. 9th. Captn. Israel Davis of Colo. Wigglesworth's Regiment tried for fraudulently detaining two months pay drawn by him belonging to Giles Tibbits a soldier to the great damage and distress of the said soldier; 2ndly., for detaining a sum of money about the value of sixty pounds Massachusetts Currency, the Property of five soldiers being money due to them as a hire from the town of Newbury; acquitted of the first part of the charge, but found guilty of the second being a breach of 4th. Article 12th. section of the Articles of war and sentenced to be cashiered and to refund the money, to Thomas and William Clark each fifteen pounds to Hollis Hutchins, Reuben Kincade and Benjamin Fletcher each ten pounds aforesaid Currency and that his pay be stop'd to make good those sums.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Thirsday, February 12, 1778.

Parole Dunbarton. Countersigns Dunmore, Dayton.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Wigglesworth was President Feby. 6th. 1778: Captn. Zane[2] tried upon appeal

[2] Capt. Silas Zane, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment.

to a General Court Martial, for acting in a cowardly manner when sent with a scouting party on 12th. of December last in ordering his men to retreat when he had a considerable advantage over the Enemy, again found guilty of the charge being a breach of 13th. Article 13th. Section of the Articles of War and sentenced to be discharged from the service. At the same Court Lieutt. Richard Whitbee[3] tried upon appeal for acting in an ungentlemanlike manner and encouraging theft in the Army and acquitted.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the aforegoing sentences and orders that Captn. Zane be immediately discharged from the service and that Lieutt. Whitbee be released from his Arrest.

At the same Court Captn. Samuel Ely,[4] tried (Feby. 7th.) for several practices unbecoming the officer and acquitted of the charges against him.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders him to be discharged from his arrest.

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: The Congress, so long ago, as the 30th. November last, directed me to have an inquiry into the Causes of the losses of Fort Mifflin[5] upon the Delaware and Fort Montgomery upon Hudson's River. The peculiar situation of the Army has hindered me from attending to this matter before this time.

As most of the principal Officers up the North River, were immediately concerned in the defence of Fort Montgomery, or

[3] Lieut. Richard Whedbee (Whitbee), of the Seventh North Carolina Regiment.

[4] Capt. Samuel Ely, of the Seventh North Carolina Regiment. He resigned Feb. 17, 1778.

[5] The resolves of November 28, which were forwarded to Washington in a letter of November 30. See Washington's letter to Congress, Feb. 8, 1778, *ante*.

eventually so by being very near it, there cannot, in my opinion, be a sufficient number proper to compose a Court found upon the spot. It is therefore my intention to send three at least from this Army, and it is my wish that you should be one and act as president upon the occasion, if your health will permit you to attend. I shall therefore, be glad to hear from you upon the subject, that I may, either proceed to fill up the Commission for you, or appoint another, if your health should not be sufficiently established to go thro' the business. It is my wish to have this inquiry carried on, not only in obedience to the Resolve of Congress, but for other Reasons which I need not explain to you. It is, besides, impatiently expected by the Gentlemen in the State of New York, who are in hopes that some beneficial consequences will result from it. You are particularly well acquainted with many Circumstances relating to the situation of matters in that quarter and therefore more capable of conducting the inquiry than any other officer. I shall only add one Reason more, to induce you to strain a point upon this occasion; which is, that the scarcity of Genl. Officers is already so great, that supposing one as proper as yourself, I could not spare him without injury to the Service. I shall expect an answer by return of the express. I am etc.[6]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 12, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 7th. instant, which is fully answered by mine of the 10th.

When the Winter Quarters of the Army were arranged, it was agreed between Genl. Armstrong and myself that the Militia of this State should cover the Country between the Schuylkill and Delaware, in order to prevent the incursions of small

[6]The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

parties of the Enemy and to cut off the intercourse between the City and Country. The number of Militia, fixed upon for this purpose, were one thousand, which Genl. Armstrong promised should be regularly kept up. Upon the appointment of Genl. Lacey, Genl. Potter, who had been long from home, gave up the command to him. As I have not the pleasure of knowing Genl. Lacey I will not undertake to say whether the little that has been done since Genl. Potter's departure has been owing to any want of activity in him, or whether he has not been furnished with the stipulated number of men; but this is a fact, that they have by some means or other dwindled away to nothing, and there are no guards within twenty Miles of the City, on the East Side of Schuylkill, but a few patroles of Light Horse, who being unsupported by Foot, dare not go near the Enemy's lines. Owing to this, the intercourse of all the Country between Schuylkill and Delaware, is as open and uninterrupted as ever it was, and must continue so, unless a sufficient number of Militia are immediately ordered out. The continental Troops, much worn down with the fatigues of the Campaign, building themselves houses and fortifying their Camp, are unable to do more duty than they now have to perform on this side of the River, especially as many of them cannot leave their Quarters for want of Cloathing.

I hope, from this state of facts, that you will immediately order out, at least the number of Men stipulated by Genl. Armstrong; and if possible, some hundreds more, for the purpose of forming the most advanced guards, as we find the Continental Troops (especially those who are not Natives) are very apt to desert from the pickets. I have the honour, etc.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have recd a Letter from General Lacey dated at Warwick in Bucks County, in which he informs me that his numbers are reduced to between 60 and 100.[7]

[7] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York.

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, February 12, 1778.

Sir: The good People of the State of Pennsylvania living in the vicinity of Philadelphia and near the Delaware River having suffered much by the Enemy carrying off their property without allowing them any Compensation, thereby distressing the Inhabitants, supplying their own Army and enabling them to protract the cruel and unjust War that they are now Waging against these States. And whereas by recent intelligence I have reason to expect that they intend making another grand Forage into this Country, it is of the utmost Consequence that the Horses Cattle Sheep and Provender within Fifteen or Twenty miles west of the River Delaware between the Schuykill and the Brandywine be immediately removed, to prevent the Enemy from receiving any benefit therefrom, as well as to supply the present Emergencies of the American Army.

I do therefore Authorise impower and Command you forthwith to take Carry off and secure all such Horses as are suitable for Cavalry or for Draft and all Cattle and Sheep fit for Slaughter together with every kind of Forage that may be found in possession of any of the Inhabitants within the Aforesaid Limits Causing Certificates to be given to each person for the number Value and quantity of the horses Cattle Sheep and Provender so taken. Informing them that notice will be given to the holders of such Certificates by the Commissaries and Quarter Master General when and where they may Apply for Payment that they may not be disappointed in calling for their money.

All Officers *civil and military,* Commissaries, Quarter masters &ca. are hereby Ordered to obey and assist you in this necessary business.

All the Provender on the Islands between Philadelphia and Chester which may be difficult of Access or too hazardous to attempt carrying off, you will immediately Cause to be

destroyed, giving Directions to the Officer or Officers to whom this Duty is assigned, to take an Account of the Quantity together with the Owners Names, as far as the nature of the Service will admit.[8] [H.S.P.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Friday, February 13, 1778.

Parole Elk. Countersigns Ervine, Elbridge.

AFTER ORDERS FEBY. 13TH

Lieutt. Ebenezer Smith of Colo. Wigglesworth's Regiment is appointed to do the duty of Pay-Master in the Regiment 'till the return of Thomas Smart Pay-Master of the same.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL HENRY HASKELL[9]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 13, 1778.

Sir: I am informed, that you have been since September last, absent from your Regiment, on a Furlough given you by General Gates; which must be supposed to have expired before this; I have to desire you will, without fail, immediately join your Regiment. I am &ca.[10]

To COLONEL MORGAN LEWIS[11]

February 13, 1778.

Sir: I have been informed, there is a considerable number of pack saddles among the Stores taken from Genl. Burgoyne's

[8] At the end of this letter is the following, dated "Moorehall, 12 Feb. 1778. Colonel Biddle Commissary General of Forage is hereby directed to issue the necessary Warrants and Instructions for the execution of this Service and to superintend the Commissaries and Quarter Masters. NATH. GREENE, M. G." This order was drafted February 9 by General Wayne, and this draft, a paragraph of which is in Tench Tilghman's writing, is in the *Washington Papers,* addressed to Wayne, and printed thus by Ford.

[9] Of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment. His name was omitted in the reorganization of July 1, 1779.

[10] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[11] Deputy quartermaster general of the Northern Department.

Army; I am to desire, you will send me immediately a return of them; and indeed a general return of all the Stores in your Department. Such of the pack Saddles, as may want it, you will have repaired, without loss of time. I am etc.[12]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, February 14, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 9th. instant, inclosing the proceedings of a General Court Martial held by your order.

It is a defect in our martial law, from which we often find great inconvenience, that the power of appointing General Courts Martial, is too limited. I do not find it can be legally exercised by any officer, except the Commander in Chief or the commanding general in any particular State. This circumstance would make it improper for me to ratify the sentence against Murray, did the nature of his crime require it; and if it was thought inexpedient to let him pass unpunished, I should be under the necessity of ordering another Court for his trial. But as there are some mitigating considerations, which you mention, it may perhaps be as well to remit the present sentence, without proceeding any further in the affair. I leave it to your judgment, either, with my approbation to do this, or to make use of the inclosed order,[13] to bring the offender to a second trial.

[12] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

An extract of a letter from Washington to Brig. Gen. John Lacey, jr., dated Feb. 13, 1778, is printed in the *Pennsylvania Register*, vol. 3, p. 306. It was in answer to Lacey's letter of February 11 on the reduced state of his militia. Washington stated he had written to the President of Pennsylvania to "let him know that unless the number of men (one thousand) which Gen. Armstrong promised should be kept up are regularly and constantly in the field, it will be impossible to cover the country on the other side of the Schuylkill."

[13] The order inclosed, which is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, was the following form: A General Court Martial, whereof to be president, to be held the day of at York in the State of Pennsylvania, for the trial of all offenders, that shall be brought before it. Head Quarters

Valley forge, feby. 14th 1778.

Had the constitution of the Court been intirely regular, I do not conceive I could with propriety, alter the capital punishment into a corporal one. The right of Mitigating only extend, in my opinion, to lessening the degree of punishment, in the same species prescribed; and does not imply any authority to change the nature or quality of it altogether. I am etc.[14]

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, February 14, 1778.

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 10th. Instt. with a Schedule of expences for Clothing and equipping the Cavalry, and have submitted them to the consideration of the Committee of Congress, these Gentlemen will by no means consent to a Plan, which appears to them so extraordinarily expensive, as each Colonel has undertaken to provide for his own Regiment, and the Lance Men are to be draughted, the men who compose this Company must take their chance for Cloathing &ca. with the rest of the Dragoons.

You are at Liberty to raise as many Recruits as may be wanted, provided it can be done upon the Terms allowed by the Continent; that is, twenty Dollars bounty, to men engaging for three years or during the War, but I do not approve of your giving encouragement to Volunteers, as the trouble which they occasion, generally overbalances their service.

With respect to the deposition in favor of Mr. Zelienski; as the whole proceeding is exparte, I can take no notice of it, and must refer you to what I said on the subject in my last Letter.

Among the Articles of Charge alluded to above, that of the Sheep Skin Saddles, is particularly extravagant, perhaps this

[14] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. It is indorsed by Tilghman: "respecting a Court Martial held by order of the Board of War upon a soldier of Hartley's Rgt."

may be owing to the Lining, you will be so good as to inform me at what rate you can contract for the Tree of the Saddle alone, the Skin Covers may be procured from the public Butchers, without being an Article of additional expense.

Inclosed is a Letter for Commodore Hazelwood, which forward. I am &ca.[15]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM HUBLEY

Head Quarters, February 14, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 9th. instant, accompanied by the proceedings of a General Court Martial, held by order of Major General Marquis Delafayette.

I am sorry, there happens to be an obstacle, which must necessarily delay the punishment due to such atrocious offenders, as those who have been the subject of these proceedings; but as the constitution of the Court was irregular, I cannot with propriety confirm the sentences. There is no authority to appoint General Courts Martial vested in any other hands than those of the Commander in Chief, or the Commanding General in any particular State.

I send you an order for constituting a Court, both for the trial of these criminals and of all others, that may be brought before it.

There are however some mistakes in the present proceedings, which it will be necessary to rectify in the next. Joseph Rhoad and Windle Myer, being inhabitants, are not triable on the Articles of War, but must be tried on a special resolution of Congress passed the 8th. of October last and extended by another of December 29th, which are inclosed for the Government

[15] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

of the Court. If it can consist of the same Members who composed the former, it will save trouble. I am etc.

P. S. I send you herewith the proceedings of another Court Martial, the sentence of which have never been approved, for the same reason of an illegal appointment. The criminals were ordered to be kept in confinement in Lancaster Jail. If sufficient testimonials can be found to proceed against them, I should wish the present Court, to enter upon their trials also.[16]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Valley Forge, February 14, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honour of transmitting you a letter from the Committee of Congress now here. These Gentlemen have represented the distress of the Army for want of provision so fully and in so just a light, that I shall forbear to trouble you with further observations upon the subject. I shall only observe, that if the picture they have drawn is imperfect it is because the colourings are not sufficiently strong. It does not exceed our real situation. From your zeal and earnest wishes to promote the service, I am firmly convinced we shall have every relief in your power to give. I should have troubled you before on this interesting and alarming business had I not supposed Congress the proper body to have been informed, and that the means of relief should be under their direction. Not to mention our distresses the last Campaign and that we were supplied from hand to mouth and frequently not at all, from the day Mr. Trumbull left the Commissary department. This is the second time, in the course of the present year, that we have been on the point of a dissolution, and I know not whether the melancholy event may not take place.

[16] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

The subject of Horses too, is so fully explained by the Committee, that it is needless for me to enlarge on that head. The advantages derived from a respectable Cavalry will strike you at once, and I have the most entire confidence, that you will with pleasure afford any aid in your power to promote our views in this instance.[17] I have the honor etc.[18]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, February 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favd. with yours of this date. It has ever been my wish and desire to allow Officers every indulgence, either intended for relaxation after the fatigues of a Campaign, or to pay that attention which is more or less due to every mans private Affairs, could I do it consistant with the public good and that trust which is reposed in me. I am convinced that you are solely influenced by the last of the above mentioned motives, when you desire the liberty of visiting your family, and I can very well form a judgment of the necessity you are under, by my own Affairs, left near three years ago at a very short notice. But when you reflect upon the present situation of our military Affairs, I am convinced you will be persuaded that I cannot spare you at this time, without manifest injury, not to say danger, to the Service. There are at present but two Major Generals in Camp besides yourself, several of the Brigades without Brigadiers, and many of the Regiments without a field Officer. I should not think so much of this, if other departments of the Army were going on smoothly. But you must be sensible to what an alarming and deplorable Situation we are reduced, by want of proper management, in the capital Offices of Quarter Master and Commissary General of Provisions and Forage.

[17] *Cf.* Washington's letter to Gov. Thomas Johnson, Feb. 16, 1778, *post*.
[18] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The Soldiers have been with great difficulty prevented from Mutiny for want of Victuals, and I am much mistaken if the strenuous exertions of every Officer will not be wanting to keep the Army together. Under such circumstances, to whom am I to look for support, but to my principal Officers. Confined to my quarters by an uninterrupted series of Business, I am not able to pay that attention to matters in the Field which is absolutely necessary, and for which I must therefore depend almost wholly upon the Officers high in command. I hope I need not make use of further arguments to convince you of the impossibility of granting your request at this time, and I flatter myself you will attribute my refusal to necessity, as I assure you nothing would give me greater pleasure than to indulge you could I possibly do it with consistency. I am, etc.[19] [N.H.H.S.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Sunday, February 15, 1778.

Parole Gibralter. Countersigns Greene, Glover.

As the public teams are now employed and the troops are in immediate want of straw, the Commander in Chief anxious to have them furnished with every necessary to make them comfortable, desires the Brigadiers and officers commanding Brigades each to send out a party properly officered to procure straw and impress waggons to haul it to camp where they will deliver it to their respective Brigade Quarter-Masters who are to make an equal distribution thereof to the several Regiments according to their numbers present.

The General officers are desired to meet at General Sullivan's quarters tomorrow morning ten o'Clock to take into consideration and determine upon the Memorial of the Captains in the Pennsylvania Line against the promotion of Michael Ryan

[19] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Esqr. to the Majority of a Regiment likewise to settle the rank of Captain Grier.[20]

The Court Martial whereof Colo. Wigglesworth is President is dissolved and another ordered to sit tomorrow at ten oClock in the forenoon at the Bake House for the trial of prisoners brought before them. A Captain from each Brigade to attend as Members. Colo. Cortlandt President.

Abstracts for the month of December's pay, not yet sent in to the Pay-Master General are to be sent to him for examination so as to be ready for payment as soon as the money arrives.

Pay-Rolls immediately to be made out and presented for the month's extraordinary pay mentioned in the orders of 3rd. of January, given as a reward for the virtuous Patience and Zeal of the troops under the Inconveniencies of their present situation; to comprehend all the officers and men in camp on 29th. of december, the time the resolution was passed and such as may have since joined the army to the date of the Pay-Rolls. This however is not meant to be final or to exclude those who may hereafter assert a reasonable claim to the benefit of the resolve. Difficulties having arisen as to the construction of it which have been submitted to Congress, and it is not to be doubted they will give a liberal explanation.

*To REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON

Valley-forge, February 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: Since my last to you abt. the end of Jany. I have been favourd with your Letter of the 12th. of that Month, which did not reach my hands 'till within these few days. The question there put was, in some degree, solved in my last. But to be more explicit, I can assure you that no person ever heard

[20] Capt. James Grier, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been wounded at Brandywine and made a major of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment in October, 1777.

me drop an expression that had a tendency to resignation. the same principles that led me to imbark in the opposition to the Arbitrary Claims of Great Britn. operate with additional force at this day; nor is it my desire to withdraw my Services while they are considered of importance in the present contest; but to report a design of this kind, is among the Arts wch those who are endeavouring to effect a change, are practising, to bring it to pass. I have said, and I still do say, that there is not an Officer in the Service of the United States that would return to the sweets of domestic life with more heart felt joy than I should; but I would have this declaration, accompanied by these Sentiments, that while the public are satisfied with my endeavours I mean not to shrink in the cause; but, the moment her voice, not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the weary traveller retired to rest. This my dear Doctor, you are at liberty to assert; but in doing it, I would have nothing formal. All things will come right again and soon recover their proper tone as the design is not only seen thro but reprobated.

With sincere esteem and regard I am etc.

P. S. Mrs. Washington who is now with me joins in best respects to Mrs. Gordon.

To ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER, NATHANIEL FALCONER, AND JONATHAN MIFFLIN[21]

Head Quarters, Valley, February 15, 1778.

Gentlemen: I this minute received your favour of the 14th. Instant with its several Inclosures.

I am constrained to inform you, that the situation of the Army is most critical and alarming for want of provision of

[21] Hooper was a deputy quartermaster general; Falconer and Mifflin were deputy commissaries of purchases.

the meat kind. Many of the Troops for four days and some longer, have not drawn the smallest supplies of this Article. This being the case, it is needless to add more to convince you of their distress. They have been on the point of dispersing and without the earliest releif, no address or authority will be sufficient to keep them long together. Their patience and endurance are great, but the demands of nature must be satisfied. I must therefore, Gentlemen, in the most urgent terms, request and entreat your immediate and more active exertions to procure and forward to Camp, as expeditiously as possible, all the provision of the meat kind which it may be in your power to obtain. I would not have you wait till you collect a large quantity, but wish you to send on supplies, as fast as you can get them. The Troops must have instant relief or we shall have reason to apprehend the worst consequences. I need not mention to you the necessity of secrecy in an affair of such delicacy. Your own prudence and discretion will point it out. I am etc.

P. S. The State of Forage is the same with that of provision, and a supply is materially wanted. Without it and very speedily, we shall have not a Horse left.[22]

To RICHARD HENRY LEE

Valley Forge, February 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 2d ultimo, from Chantilly, enclosing Lieutenant Colonel Frazer's orders for the management

[22] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

"His Excellency desires that you would extend your Views beyond your present Circle of foraging, and while the Waggons, you carried down, are bringing off what is under the protection of the covering party, that you would send some persons further back, impress every Carriage that can be found and send them forward to Camp loaded with Forage. You will have an opportunity of looking about you in the Country upon the upper parts of Brandywine and between that and the Camp and seeing what quantity of Forage is there. But if some is not got in soon, it will come too late as I fear we shall not have a Horse left alive to eat it. You know our distress and I am sure you will endeavour to alleviate it."—*Tilghman to Col. Clement Biddle,* Feb. 15, 1778. This letter is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

of the grenadiers and light infantry in an action, and upon a march, came to my hands in the course of last month, and merits my thanks, as it may be of use to such corps, one of which (consisting of light infantry) we are now forming. The enemy are governed by no principles that ought to actuate honest men; no wonder then, that forgery should be amongst their other crimes. I have seen a letter published in a handbill at New York, and extracts of it republished in the Philadelphia paper, said to be from me to Mrs. Washington, not one word of which did I ever write; those contained in the pamphlet you speak of, are, I presume, equally genuine, and perhaps written by the same author.[23] I should be glad however to see and examine the texture of them, if a favourable opportunity to send them should present.[24]

Lord Cornwallis has certainly embarked for England, but with what view is not so easy to determine: he was eye witness a few days before his departure, to a scene not a little disgraceful to the pride of British valour, in their manœuvre to Chesnut hill, and precipitate return, after boasting their intentions of driving us beyond the mountains.[25]

I am very glad to find that the Assembly of Virginia, have taken matters up so spiritedly; but wish, instead of attempting to raise so many volunteers, they had resolved at all adventures to complete their regiments by drafting. If all the states

[23]The handbill had been printed by Rivington and issued in advance of the pamphlet which has come to be known as the *Spurious Letters of Washington*. William Carmichael states that these letters were composed in London by a group of American expatriates, who managed to obtain a few shillings by such work. Washington himself thought that "Jack" Randolph, the last royal attorney general of Virginia, was the author. The letters were originally published by J. Bew in London. Rivington reprinted the pamphlet in New York.

[24]Lee had written "The arts of the enemies of America are endless, but all wicked as they are various. Among other tricks, they have forged a pamphlet of letters, entitled 'Letters from General Washington to Several of his Friends, in 1776.' The design of the forger is evident, and no doubt it gained him a good beefsteak from his masters. I would send you this pamphlet, if it were not too bulky for the post, as it might serve to amuse your leisure hours during the inaction of winter."

[25]The British movements, Dec. 4–8, 1777.

would do this, and fall upon ways and means to supply their troops with comfortable clothing upon moderate terms, and Congress would make the commissions of officers of some value to them, every thing would probably go well, making at the same time some reform in the different departments of the army; nothing standing in greater need of it than the quartermasters and commissaries, as no army ever suffered more by their neglect; the consequences of this neglect are much to be dreaded. I am, etc.[26]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I have received your Letter of Yesterday and have given instructions to the Quarter Master to supply your demand of Waggons, by sending forward as many as can be spared from the Camp and pressed in the Neighbourhood; however, I would not have your exertions abated, by a reliance on success in this quarter.[27]

As it is impossible to secure the Hay on the Jersey Shore for our own use, it is certainly advisable to destroy it, that the Enemy may derive no benefit from it, and the sooner Colonel Butler effects this business the better.

An Express has been sent to Colonel Cox on the subject you mention. I am etc.

P. S. If there is any good reason to believe that the Inhabitants have Carriages and with hold them, make severe examples of a few to deter others, our present wants will justify any measures you can take.[28]

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[26] This letter and also Lee's letter to Washington are taken from *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee and His Correspondence.*

[27] Greene had recommended a foraging expedition in Bucks County, Pa., and the seizure of wagons back of the Brandywine.

[28] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. The P. S. in the writing of Washington.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: The distress of this Army for want of provisions is perhaps beyond any thing you can conceive; and unless we strain every nerve to procure immediate relief, a general mutiny and dispersion is to be dreaded. Our nearest Magazines are at Dover and the Head of Elk; and it is absolutely necessary, by a vigorous effort, to push on all the provisions at those places for the present subsistence of the Troops. I have intrusted this important business to the zealous activity of Capt. Lee, whom I have empowered to impress the number of Waggons requisite for the purpose. He will probably stand in need of some assistants, acquainted with the Neighbouring Country, to facilitate and dispatch the business. I imagine you can furnish him with proper persons for the purpose, Officers in the Maryland and Delaware Troops. Every aid you can possibly afford him is demanded by the exigency of the occasion. I am etc.

P. S. I do not know in what manner the troops under your command have been hitherto supplied with provisions; but as you are in an abundant Country, I shall imagine you might furnish yourself from the resources of it, without the help of the Magazines above mentioned, no part of which can, without detriment, be spared from the use of this Camp.[29]

To CAPTAIN HENRY LEE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: You are immediately to proceed, with a party of Horse to Dover and the Head of Elk, and in conjunction with the Commissaries there, exert your utmost endeavours, to hasten

[29] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

to this Army all the flesh provisions deposited in the Magazines, at those places. In order to this, you are empowered to impress throughout the Country, any Number of Waggons you may stand in need of. I have also written to Genl. Smallwood, whom you will consult on the occasion, to afford you every assistance in his power, he will furnish you with proper Officers, acquainted with the adjacent Country, to aid in the execution of your purpose.

After putting in motion all the provisions in the aforementioned magazines, I wou'd recommend to you to consult Genl. Smallwood, on the propriety and expediency of collecting Cattle and Forage about the Country to which you are sent, and if any resources can be derived thence towards the relief of our distresses it will be infinitely desirable. I need say nothing to animate your zeal on this occasion. I am confident you have too just a sense of our necessities to omit any exertion it will possibly be in your power to make.[30]

To HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH

Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I am under the painful necessity of informing you, that the situation of the Army is most critical and alarming for want of Provision, especially of the Meat kind. The Troops have not had supplies of the latter for four days and many of them have been much longer without. I have sent Captn. Lee to forward from the Head of Elk and Dover, all the provisions, that may be at either of those places, as expeditiously as possible, and I must entreat you, Sir, to give all the assistance, in your power, to promote this very important and interesting Work. I am etc.

P. S. I need not mention to you the Delicacy of this subject and the propriety of Secrecy.[31]

[30] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[31] The copy is in the writing of Richard Varick. A draft, by Hamilton, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: It is with great reluctance, I trouble you on a subject, which does not properly fall within your province; but it is a subject that occasions me more distress, than I have felt, since the commencement of the war; and which loudly demands the most zealous exertions of every person of weight and authority, who is interested in the success of our affairs. I mean the present dreadful situation of the army for want of provisions, and the miserable prospects before us, with respect to futurity. It is more alarming than you will probably conceive, for, to form a just idea, it were necessary to be on the spot. For some days past, there has been little less, than a famine in camp. A part of the army has been a week, without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been ere this excited by their sufferings, to a general mutiny and dispersion. Strong symptoms, however, of discontent have appeared in particular instances; and nothing but the most active efforts every where can long avert so shocking a catastrophe.

Our present sufferings are not all. There is no foundation laid for any adequate relief hereafter. All the magazines provided in the States of New Jersey, Pensylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and all the immediate additional supplies they seem capable of affording, will not be sufficient to support the army more than a month longer, if so long. Very little has been done to the Eastward, and as little to the Southward; and whatever we have a right to expect from those quarters, must necessarily be very remote; and is indeed more precarious, than could be wished. When the forementioned supplies are exhausted, what

a terrible crisis must ensue, unless all the energy of the Continent is exerted to provide a timely remedy?

Impressed with this idea, I am, on my part, putting every engine to work, that I can possibly think of, to prevent the fatal consequences, we have so great reason to apprehend. I am calling upon all those, whose stations and influence enable them to contribute their aid upon so important an occasion; and from your well known zeal, I expect every thing within the compass of your power, and that the abilities and resources of the state over which you preside, will admit. I am sensible of the disadvantages it labours under, from having been so long the scene of war, and that it must be exceedingly drained by the great demands to which it has been subject. But, tho' you may not be able to contribute materially to our relief, you can perhaps do something towards it; and any assistance, however trifling in itself, will be of great moment at so critical a juncture, and will conduce to keeping the army together till the Commissary's department can be put upon a better footing, and effectual measures concerted to secure a permanent and competent supply. What methods you can take, you will be the best judge of; but, if you can devise any means to procure a quantity of cattle, or other kind of flesh, for the use of this army, to be at camp in the course of a month, you will render a most essential service to the common cause.[32] I have the honor etc.[33]

[32] Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum's letter to Major General Greene (Feb. 12, 1778) presents a vivid picture of conditions at Valley Forge:

"The Situation of the Camp is such," wrote Varnum, "that in all human probability the Army must soon dissolve. Many of the Troops are destitute of Meat, and are several Days in Arrear. The Horses are dying for want of Forage. The Country in the Vicinity of the Camp is exhausted. There cannot be a moral Certainty of bettering our Circumstances, while we continue here. What Consequences have we rationally to expect? Our Desertions are astonishingly great; the Love of Freedom, which once animated the Breasts of those born in the Country, is controlling by Hunger, the keenest of Necessities. If we consider the Relation in which we stand to the Troops, we cannot reconcile their Sufferings to the Sentiments of honest men. No political Consideration can justify the Measure. There is no local Object of so much moment, as to conceal the Obligations which bind us to them. Should a blind Attachment to a preconcerted plan fatally disaffect, and in the End force the army

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of writing to you a day or two ago, and transmitting a letter from the committee of Congress now at camp, containing a representation of the present alarming distress of the army for want of provisions; They press upon us with such increasing violence, and threaten such fatal consequences, unless the most vigorous measures be pursued to effect an immediate remedy, that I have thought proper to send Mr. Tilghman, in case any accident should have happened to those letters, to give you a just picture of our situation, and with your aid and concurrence to take the most effectual methods for procuring us a speedy though temporary relief, from the magazines which have been established in your state. I have the honor etc.[33]

To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON

Camp, Valley Forge, February 16, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honour of transmitting you the inclosed Letter from a Committee of Congress now here.[34] These

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to Mutiny, then will the same Country, which now applauds our Hermitage, curse our Insensibility.

"I have from the Beginning view'd this Situation with Horror! It is unparalelled in the History of Mankind to establish Winter Quarters in a Country wasted, and without a single Magazine. We now only feel some of the Effects, which Reason from the beginning taught us to expect as inevitable. My Freedom upon this occasion may be offensive; I should be unhappy, but Duty obliges me to speak without Reserve. My own Conscience will approve the Deed, when some may perhaps look back with Regret, to the Time, when the Evil in Extreme might have been prevented. There is no Alternative, but immediately to remove the Army to places where they can be supplied, unless effectual Remedies can be applied upon the Spot, which I believe every Gentleman of the Army thinks impracticable."

Varnum's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[33] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[34] The letter from the committee of Congress was signed by Francis Dana, Nathaniel Folsom, John Harvie, and Gouverneur Morris. It was dated February 16:

"We have the Honor to compose a Committee of Congress appointed to confer with the General upon the Officers of the Army and with him to concert Measures

Gentlemen have represented the distress of the Army for want of Provision so fully and in so just a light, that I shall forbear to trouble you with many observations upon the subject. I shall only add, if the picture they have drawn is imperfect, it is because the colouring is not sufficiently strong. It does not exceed our real situation, nor will it be easy to give you an adequate idea of it.

The only public Stores of the meat kind, that I can hear of in your State, lie at the Head of Elk. I have sent an active Officer there to day, and hope with the assistance of Mr. Hollingsworth, who resides there, that in the course of a few days they will be transported to Camp. But, should this be the case, the quantity is so small that it will afford but a very short and temporary relief, nor can I find from the most minute inquiry, that the Magazines of this kind, when drawn together and aided by the supplies of Cattle the Commissary expects to get, will be more than sufficient to support the Army longer than this Month. After, our prospect of support from him seems to be at an end, or at least it will be extremely precarious.

From this view of Matters and foreseeing the fatal and alarming consequences that will necessarily attend a dissolution or dispersion of the Army, I must take the liberty of solliciting your good Offices, and to request your exertions to prevent as far

for opening the Campaign with Vigor and Activity. During the Progress of this important Business the critical Situation of the Army on the Store of Provisions hath filled our Minds with Apprehension and Alarm, fed by daily Supplies and even those uncertain we have to fear a total Want. Some Brigades have not tasted Flesh in four Days and the Evil great as it is seems rather to increase than diminish. The Commissioners inform us that they have not only met with great Difficulties in Purchasing Provisions in your State but that they cannot even transport what they have purchased for the Want of Waggons and the like. Whether these Apologies are justly founded we will not presume to say but this is certain that upon an early Transportation of large Quantities of Provisions to this Camp from the State you preside over the very Existence of our Army depends. Let us then intreat you Sir to exert the full Influence of your Abilities to forward such Supplies as may have been already brought up and also to obtain by such Measures as you may think most adequate to that Purpose as much as can be spared by the Inhabitants from their own particular Consumption."

This letter is in the Maryland Historical Society.

as possible, so melancholy a catastrophe, by having forwarded to Camp, all the Provisions of the meat kind that may be in your power. I know not what resources Maryland may have in this instance; but perhaps, thro' your means and influence, we may derive no inconsiderable Supplies. Not to mention our distresses during the active part of the last Campaign and that our Operations were then much retarded. This is the second time in the present year, that we have been on the verge of a dissolution on this account.

I am sensible, Sir, I have addressed you upon a subject out of your Province; But I am assured your zeal for the service and wishes to promote it, where possible, will indulge me with an apology, especially when I add, that my application is the result of the most painful and pressing necessity. I have the honour etc.[35] [MD. H. S.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Tuesday, February 17, 1778.

Parole Ipswich. Countersigns Inman, Isabel.

At a division Court Martial (Feby. 13th. 1778.) whereof Lieutt. Colo. Sprout was president, Lieutt. Austin Alden of Colo. Brewer's Regiment,[36] tried for behaving in many instances unbecoming the Character of an officer and gentleman, 1st. in taking Jack Brown's allowance of Whisky and drinking it and then refusing to pay for it. 2nd. In messing, frequently drinking and sleeping with the soldiers. 3rdly. For writing Petitions for the soldiers and taking pay for the same.

The Court are unanimously of opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the whole and do sentence him to be discharged from the service. The Commander in Chief approves the aforegoing sentence and orders him to be discharg'd immediately and that

[35] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[36] The Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment.

his Commission be taken from him by the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.

To HENRY CHAMPION

Camp, Valley Forge, February 17, 1778.

Sir: The present situation of the army is the most melancholy that can be conceived. Our supplies of provisions of the flesh kind for some time past have been very deficient and irregular. A prospect now opens of absolute want such as will make it impossible to keep the army much longer from dissolution unless the most vigorous and effectual measures are persued to prevent it. Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland are now entirely exhausted. All the beef and pork already collected in them or that can be collected will not by any means support the army one month longer. Further to southard some quantities of salt provisions have been procured; but if they were all on the spot they would afford but a very partial and temporary supply. The difficulty of transportation is great. The distance will not allow it to be effected by land, and the navigation up the Chesapeak Bay is interrupted by the enemy's vessels which make it very precarious when we shall get any material relief from that quarter. To the Eastward only can we turn our eyes with any reasonable hope of timely and adequate succor. If every possible exertion is not made use of there to secure us immediate and ample supplies of cattle, the most fatal consequences must ensue. I have much confidence in your zeal and activity and I trust upon this occasion they will be exerted in a peculiar manner to hurry on to camp all the cattle you may be able to purchase. I am, etc.[37]

[37] From a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress taken from the *Champion Genealogy*.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Wednesday, February 18, 1778.

Parole Kent. Countersigns Knox, Kemper.

At a brigade Court Martial whereof Lt. Colo. Beauford[38] was president (Feby. 16th.) Lieutt. John Rust of 10th. Virginia Regiment, tried at the request of Lieutt. Broadwater[39] for abusively aggravating said Broadwater to strike him, for getting drunk, playing Cards and beating Captn. Lard[40] on the Sabbath day whilst he the said Captn. Lard was under arrest and found guilty of a breach of 21st. Article 14th section of the Articles of war, also of a breach of General Orders, and sentenced to be discharged from the service. But as Lieutt. Rust has formerly borne the character of a good officer, the court are pleased to recommend him to the consideration of His Excellency General Washington to have him reinstated in his rank.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence, but is concern'd he cannot reinstate Lt. Rust in compliance with the recommendation of the Court founded upon his former good Character as an Officer. His behavior in the several instances alledged was so flagrant and scandalous that the General thinks his continuance in the service would be a disgrace to it and as one part of the charge against him was gaming, that alone would exclude him from all Indulgence; a Vice of so pernicious a nature that it never will escape the Severest punishment with His approbation.

[38] Lieut. Col. Abraham Buford, of the Fifth Virginia Regiment. He was colonel in May, 1778; transferred to the Eleventh and, later, to the Third Virginia Regiments; served to close of war.

[39] Lieut. Charles Broadwater, of the Tenth Virginia Regiment.

[40] Capt. David Laird, of the Tenth Virginia Regiment. This offense evidently had been committed in January, as Laird had been dismissed the service on the 13th of that month.

The orders of yesterday with respect to the late Lieutt. Austin Alden's Commission being taken from him is meant to be applied in all cases where officers are cashiered or discharged from the service by sentence of a Court Martial.

The General officers are desired to meet at General Sullivan's quarters tomorrow morning at ten o'Clock for the same purpose as requested in orders 15th. instant. The Captains in the Pennsylvania line who presented the Memorial therein mentioned, likewise the Majors who have been promoted in that line since the Commencement of the year 1777, are desired to give their attendance at the time and place mentioned.

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, February 18, 1778.

Sir: I have received your two favors of yesterday and to day; there has been no considerable desertion from this camp, to my knowledge within a few days past, nor have the Enemy made any number of Prisoners on the other side of Schuylkil; the persons said to have been paraded in the city, were perhaps defenceless Inhabitants that have been seized upon by the traiterous parties who style themselves Royal Refugees.

If you have any prospect of making it worth the while, I would by all means have you continue foraging a few days longer. If the matters alleged against Mr. James,[41] are founded in truth, and he is within reach, he ought immediately to be secured.

Your observations with respect to the branding Continental Horses are exceedingly just; but the proper arrangements and regulations in that department can only take place when there shall be an active and intelligent head to it. I am etc.[42]

[41] Jacob James. He tried to raise a troop of Tory dragoons in Chester County, Pa.
[42] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN GLOVER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 18, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 27th. of last Month. Since, from the circumstances you represent, your continuance where you are, may be for some time necessary, I cannot but acquiesce in it, while that necessity continues; but I must hope, you will not delay a moment to join your Brigade, when the exigency, which now detains you from it, ceases.

Your presence, as that of every other General Officer, will be essentially requisite, to aid me in carrying into execution, many important new arrangements, which, there is a prospect, will take place, for the reformation and better establishment of the Army.

Excuse me Sir, if I hesitate to give my concurrence to the desire you express, of quitting the Army. I have too high an opinion of your value, as an Officer, to do any thing that may contribute to your relinquishing that Character. My earnest wish is, that you may continue in it. The spirit of resigning, which is now become almost epidemical, is truely painful and alarming. This spirit, prevailing among many of the best Officers, from various inducements, if persisted in, must deeply wound the common cause. You cannot but be convinced, the situation of the Army is such, that it can ill bear the loss of good Officers, and such would do well to consider how much they put to the hazard, by doing any thing to weaken the sinews of our contest, at so critical a time. I am persuaded, if these ideas were properly realized, they would endure great inconveniences and make great sacrifices, rather than withdraw their services. I am fully sensible of the disadvantages Officers have hitherto laboured under from the insufficiency of their

appointments;[43] but measures have been, and I flatter myself, others, still more effectual, will be taken, to remedy this evil. I am impressing the necessity of it, by every argument in my power and you may assure yourself that no endeavour of mine will be omitted, to remove so just a cause of complaint. I am etc.[44]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN LACEY, JUNIOR

February 18, 1778.

Sir: The communication between the city and country, in spite of every thing hitherto done still continuing and threatening the most pernicious consequences; I am induced to beg you will exert every possible expedient to put a stop to it. In order to this, to excite the zeal of the militia under your command and make them more active in their duty, I would have you to let every thing actually taken from persons going into and coming out of the city, redound to the benefit of the parties who take them. At the same time, it will be necessary to use great precaution, to prevent an abuse of this privilege, since it may otherwise be made a pretext for plundering the innocent inhabitants. One method to prevent this, will be to let no forfeitures take place, but under the eye, and with the concurrence of some commissioned officer.

Any horses captured in this manner, fit for the public service, either as light or draft horses, must be sent to camp to the Quarter Master General, who will be directed to pay the value of them to the captors.

I cannot but think, your present position is at too great a distance from the city,[45] and puts it in the power of the disaffected,

[43] The "insufficiency of their appointments" was the matter of the small pay of the officers in the Continental Army, which Glover had found, as had every other officer, was insufficient to support him, even in camp.

[44] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

[45] Lacey was then at Warwicks, in Bucks County, Pa.

very easily to elude your guards, and carry on their injurious commerce, at pleasure. I would recommend to you, to remove to some nearer post, and not to depend upon fixed guards, but to keep out continual scouts and patroles, as near the city as possible; to ramble through the woods and bye ways, as well as the great roads. The strictest orders should be given to these parties, even when necessary, and the intention is evident, to fire upon those gangs of mercenary wretches who make a practice of resorting the city with marketing.

I am informed, a considerable reinforcement is coming to your aid. I am, etc.[46]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, February 18, 1778.

Sir: In a Letter of the 17th. Ulto. from Major General Riedesel, after setting forth that a certain number of British Officers prisoners of War, had been exchanged for an equal number of Officers in the Continental Army, at the request of Gen. Burgoyne, he complains, that upon application to you, for the exchange of a proportionable number of German Officers, likewise prisoners of War, you answered no exchange of the German Troops could be entered upon, without an express order from Congress; he observes farther, that the Officers of Genl. Burgoyne's and Genl. Philipps's Families, being part of the Convention Troops, have been exchanged and he requests that a similar indulgence may be extended to the Officers of his Suite, representing it as a hardship that the Troops of the two Nations should not be treated exactly alike.

You will be so good, Sir, as to inform me, whether any particular reasons have determined you to make a distinction in

[46] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the respects above mentioned between the British and German Officers, that I may know what kind of answer to give Genl. Riedesel.[47] I am, &ca.[48]

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND VIRGINIA

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 18, 1778.

Friends Countrymen and Fellow Citizens! After three Campaigns, during which the brave Subjects of these States have contended, not unsuccessfully, with one of the most powerful Kingdoms upon Earth, we now find ourselves at least upon a level with our opponents; and there is the best reason to believe, Efforts adequate to the abilities of this country would enable us speedily to conclude the War and to secure the invaluable Blessings of Peace, Liberty and Safety. With this view, it is in Contemplation, at the opening of the next Campaign, to assemble a force sufficient, not barely to cover the Country from a repetition of those depredations which it hath already suffered, but also to operate offensively and strike some decisive Blow.

In the Prosecution of this object, it is to be feared that so large an Army may suffer for the want of Provisions. The Distance between this and the Eastern States, whence considerable Supplies of Flesh have been hitherto drawn, will necessarily render those supplies extremely precarious; And unless the virtuous Yeomanry of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware Maryland and Virginia, will exert themselves to prepare Cattle for the use of the Army during the Months of May, June and July next, great difficulties may arise in the course of the Campaign. It is therefore recommended to the Inhabitants of those States, to put up and feed immediately as many of their Stock Cattle, as they can spare, so as that they may be driven to this

[47] See Washington's letter to Baron von Riedesel, Mar. 31, 1778, *post*.
[48] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Army within that period. A bountiful price will be given and the proprietors may assure themselves, that they will render a most essential service to the illustrious Cause of their Country, and contribute, in a great degree, to shorten this bloody Contest. But should there be any so insensible to the common Interest, as not to exert themselves upon these generous principles; the private interest of those, whose situation makes them liable to become immediate subjects to the Enemy's incursions, should prompt them at least to a measure, which is calculated to save their property from plunder; their families from insult, and their own persons from abuse, hopeless confinement, or perhaps a violent death.[49]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Thirsday, February 19, 1778.

Parole Lebanon. Countersigns Larned, Lamb.

The officers of the day are to cause strict search and inquiry to be made whether any Sutlers or other Persons whatever sell any spirituous liquors, contrary to General orders, particularly near the picquets and out lines of the camp, or within a mile or two of them, and if such liquors are found in those places they are to be seized, secured and reported.

No prisoner to be Sent to the Provost but such as are charged with capital Crimes.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Valley Forge, February 19, 1778.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the honor of your Letter of the 13th Instant with its inclosures.[50]

[49] The draft is in the writing of Gouverneur Morris, with a few changes in that of Alexander Hamilton.

[50] The resolve of Congress alluded to was one of February 9 requesting the States to give attention to the conduct of all Continental officers within their borders, both civil and military; to suspend them foı misconduct or neglect of duty and to make temporary appointments in their places where necessary.

The recommendation and authority to the several States, in the instances pointed out by the Resolve, if they are duly attended to, will produce many valuable consequences. The abuses complained of are but too prevalent and require a reform. I have the honor etc.[51]

To JAMES MEASE

Valley Forge, February 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: There having been some suggestions, that the Pensylvania Troops have not received a proportion of the Cloathing distributed to the Army; Also, that they have not been furnished with the quantity they are charged with. I have to desire, that if application should be made, you will satisfy the president and Council of this State upon the subject, exhibiting to them your Vouchers and specifying to whom the Supplies were made.[52] I am etc.[51]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Valley Forge, February 19, 1778.

Sir: For reasons that will be obvious to you it is thought the publication of the inclosed address[53] may answer valuable ends; and I beg leave to submit to you whether, it may not serve to increase its effect, if it were ushered into the papers of your state with a recommendatory line from yourself. If you should suppose there will be any impropriety in this, you will be pleased, notwithstanding, to commit the address itself to the Printer. I have the honor, etc.[54]

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[51] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[52] Mease was then at Lancaster, Pa.

[53] See Address to the Inhabitants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, Feb. 18, 1778, *ante*.

[54] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. This same letter was also sent to Vice President George Read of Delaware, Govs. Thomas Johnson of Maryland, and Patrick Henry of Virginia, and President Thomas Wharton, jr., of Pennsylvania. To Wharton's letter the following paragraph was added: "I was duly honored with

A Report of the Guards at Camp at Valley Forge

Guards	Subalterns	Sergts	Corps	Privates	Combined by Duty	Combined by Night	Parole Constantinople / Cons. Cortlands
Upper Marian	1	1	1	18	4	5	
Quaker Met. House	1	1	1	18	4	5	
Centre Picquett	1	1	1	18	4	5	
Stone Chimney	1	1	1	18	12	6	
Genl. Scotts Picq.	1	1	1	18	2	4	
Guard at Reeves	1	1	1	18	3	5	
Picquett at Wilson	1	1	1	18	3	6	
Statland Ford	..	..	..	..	..	..	Received no Report

Quaker Meting House picquett not relieved yesterday by reason of their not Sending a Guide in Season wherefore two picquett were sent to one place. Nothing else Material

Camp Feb 12th 1778

John Porter Major & Off. Day

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

REPORT OF GUARDS AT VALLEY FORGE, FEBRUARY 12, 1778

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 19, 1778.

Sir: The melancholy prospect before us, with respect to supplies of provisions, induces me, reluctantly to trouble you on a subject, which does not naturally fall within the circle of your attention.

The situation of the Commissary's department and of the army, in consequence, is more deplorable, than you can easily imagine. We have frequently suffered temporary want and great inconveniences, and for several days past, we have experienced little less than a famine in camp; and have had much cause to dread a general mutiny and dispersion. Our future prospects are, if possible, still worse: The magazines laid up, as far as my information reaches, are insignificant, totally incompetent to our necessities, and from every appearance, there has been heretofore so astonishing a deficiency in providing, that unless the most vigorous and effectual measures are at once, every where adopted, the language is not too strong to declare, that we shall not be able to make another campaign.

To what causes this is to be attributed; whether to an ill-timed and too general revolution in the department, in the midst of a campaign, to its being placed in improper hands, or to a diminution of resources and increased difficulties in the means of procuring, or to a combination of all these circumstances. I shall not undertake to decide. We have to lament that our affairs are so situated, and it is incumbent upon us, to employ our utmost efforts to ward off the ruin such a situation of things threatens. We have it in our power to do it; but

your Letter of the 13th Inst. I shall give every attention in my power that the five Regiments may be supplied out of the Cloathing which first came to hand as you wish and if it proves insufficient, will try to keep them easy till a further provision can be made." Photostats of the letters sent to Governors Johnson and Wharton are in the Library of Congress.

our greatest activity and the fullest exertion of our resources, are requisite.

I am earnestly requesting the aid of the executive authority of those States, whence our supplies are drawn; and in pursuance of this intention, I address myself to you; convinced that our alarming distresses will engage your most serious consideration; and that the full force of that zeal and vigour you have manifested upon every other occasion, will now operate for our relief, in a matter that so nearly affects the very existence of our contest. What methods you have it in your power to embrace for this purpose, your own judgment will best suggest; the substance of my present request, is, that you will contribute your assistance to turning all the supplies your State can afford, more than are sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, into a channel of supplies for the army, in such a way as will appear to you most effectual; and at the same time to forwarding the means of transportation, from a defect in which we suffer great embarrassments.

I am duly honoured with your favour of the 28th of last month. The method of paying the additional state bounty that appears to me most eligible is that of sending the money to Camp, with a temporary paymaster, to be issued on Warrants from me, agreeable to muster rolls and abstracts, authenticated in the same manner as practiced in other cases. Any other mode, however, that may be deemed more convenient, will be perfectly agreeable to me.

I submit it to consideration, whether it might not be advisable for your Excellency, to issue a notification to those Soldiers, who have been reinlisted and permitted to go home on furlough, that on their return to Camp, they will receive the additional bounty, as prescribed by the Act of Assembly. As most of them engaged before the Act took place or was announced, the bounty may be put upon the footing of a reward

for past services. This notification may have an influence in making them more faithful and punctual in returning to Camp at the expiration of their furloughs. I have the honor, etc.[55]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, Friday, February 20, 1778.

Parole Middleborough. Countersigns McDougall, McIntosh.

At a board of General Officers held Feby. 19th. 1778[56] to take into Consideration the promotion of Maj. Michael Ryan and after having heard the reasons for and against it, are of opinion that his promotion to the Rank of Major in 10th. Pennsylvania Regimt. is irregular. The Commander in Chief is therefore obliged to suspend the appointment of Major Ryan in the said Regiment.

The same board likewise took into consideration the Memorial of Captn. James Grier; after hearing his allegations in support of it and what the Majors in the Pennsylvania line promoted in the year 1777, had to offer are of opinion that though Captain Grier stood fair for promotion on the 3rd. day of January 1776, yet as he was not promoted to fill up the Vacancy (which then existed) until the 7th. day of March following and as agreeable to the then regulations of the Army he could not take rank from the time of the Vacancy's happening, only, but from the time of his appointment, he has not a just claim to take rank of the Majors appointed in the State of Pennsylvania in the year 1777.

Captn. Grier will therefore consider this settlement of his rank as final.

An immediate return to be made from the Virginia Line of all the men whose times have expired and who have been

[55] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[56] The proceedings of this board on the cases of Major Ryan and Captain Grier, dated Feb. 19, 1778, are in the *Washington Papers*.

reinlisted, to comprehend also all those whose term of service is near expiring, of those who have reinlisted; Such as may be absent on furlough or otherwise must be distinguished from those present.

To MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Head Quarters, February 20, 1778.

Sir: I am glad to be informed by your Letter of the 9th. Instt. that you are established in Quarters where you are likely to have means of putting your Men and Horses into good condition. As you have been so successful in contracting for Boots and Leather Breeches, I would not have you confine your views in these Articles, to the precise Number that may be wanted by your Regiment, but wish that you would extend them in such a manner, as to be useful to the other Regiments.

The Sums which may be wanted to fulfil your agreements, must be drawn from the Quarter Mr. General, in whose hands a fund is established for defraying all expences of this kind.

It gives me pain, that there should be any delay in the important business of providing Remounts, this matter among others is under the consideration of the Committee of Congress, and nothing can be done in it till their determination is known. I am &ca.[57]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: At General Knox's departure from camp, I directed him to forward the artillery at Albany, to some proper depository in this quarter, convenient for rendering them useful in the next campaign. My motives for this, were, that in case of an augmentation of this army, we should stand in need of a much

[57] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

larger train, than we now have in the field; and ought, besides, to have a reserve to answer the demands of contingencies.

In consideration of the difficulty of transportation at this Season, it was thought advisable to postpone the removal of the Cannon from Albany, till early in the Spring, when the Situation of the North River would permit their being brought a great part of the distance by water, which would be the most expeditious and least expensive Way. In the mean time, the Navigation to Albany being impracticable, it was imagined they would be intirely safe in remaining there, and that it would be inexpedient to remove them into New England, which, if they were to come to this army, must occasion a good deal of unnecessary expence, trouble and delay.

By a letter I have just received from General Knox, I learn, that five and twenty field pieces and two howitzers, had arrived at Farmington in Connecticut sent there by your order. I must beg the favor of the board to inform me, whether they may have any particular reasons, or views with regard to the disposal of that artillery, or what may remain in Albany, unemployed in the Northern expedition, which may not coincide with my first intention. If not, I should wish to give immediate directions to have the artillery at Farmington forwarded on its route to this state; in doing which, no time is to be lost, as I am informed the roads from Connecticut to Hudson's River across the mountains, will become impassible, when the spring fairly opens. I have &ca.[58]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I have been duly favoured with yours of the 10th instant. You intirely misconceived my intention, with respect to the

[58] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and is indorsed as to "Genl. Horatio Gates, President of the Board." The letter sent is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

mode proposed of furnishing your division with shoes. I did not mean, that a shoe manufactory should be established for the purpose, but only, that you should contract with private persons, in the way of barter, to furnish you with such a Number of shoes, and to be paid for them, at stipulated rates, in raw hides. This is the mode, which has been, with success, pursued in several instances, and which, I should be glad, if you can find an opportunity, you would embrace.

With respect to the proposition from Governor Johnson, I have no objection to your sending the officers required. You know the scope of his requisition, and what the ends of it demand, and will act accordingly.

You mention some scruples, as to the operation of our articles of war, with regard to intentional, or attempted desertion. Cases of mere intention, unexpressed in any act, notwithstanding the confession of the Criminal, I do not conceive, to fall within the meaning of that article, which particularly relates to desertion, or to be susceptible of capital punishment; but where intention and any act, expressive of it, correspond, I think there can be no doubt of the propriety of construing it into desertion, and inflicting the sentence of the law. When a man is found at an improper distance from camp, or circumstances that indicate an attempt to desert, he is certainly to be considered and treated as a deserter. If not the attempt, or nothing but the full execution of his design, were to be deemed desertion, the crime could never, or very rarely be ascertained, for, in order to that, it would be necessary, the soldier should have been actually with the enemy and afterwards recovered. When difficulties occur, the spirit rather than the letter of the law is to be consulted, and this appears clearly to be intended by that part of the oath prescribed to courts martial, which declares, "that when any doubts shall arise which is not explained by the

articles, the court is to determine, according to conscience, the best of their understanding, and the custom of War in like cases." I am etc.[59]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I duly received your favour of the 18th. of January, which hurry of business has prevented my answering sooner.

As transportation at this season, would be difficult, tedious and expensive, I approve of the plan you adopted with respect to the cannon at Albany, but that no risk may be run, and in order to have them, as early as possible, so near the scene of action, as that we may be able to make use of them if necessary, it is my wish, the moment the River is Sufficiently open, to permit it they may be brought forward with all speed. It would be altogether improper to send them to Springfield.

Neither does it appear to me eligible to send the small arms at Albany, so far out of the way. If those requiring it, can possibly be repaired there, it ought to be done; or if they cannot, and it is practicable in this quarter, they ought to be sent to the Armouries this way. Nothing but necessity and its being impossible to have the business done otherwise, will justify their being sent to Springfield, to be brought from thence to this army.

I am exceedingly apprehensive from the immense waste which has constantly attended them, that we shall be very much distressed for arms at the opening of the next Campaign. I am also much afraid, that without the greatest care, we shall come far short of having a sufficiency of Cartridge boxes. These are matters, to which I most urgently request your particular attention, that every possible exertion may be used to avoid a deficiency in such essential articles.

[59] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

I dare say you will, in your absence, be very usefully employed; but your presence here, to Superintend your department at large, is so extremely requisite, that I flatter myself you will make a point of rejoining the army as expeditiously as circumstances will admit. I am, etc.

P. S. I this moment received your letter of the 21st. of January. I shall immediately write to the Board of War, on the subject of the artillery sent to Farmington, and transmit you directions concerning them, so soon as I receive an answer; but would not have you to wait, till these arrive at Boston, as I cannot help expressing my fear that the business of your department will be exceedingly behind hand, as Flower[60] is not yet able to look into it, with that degree of attention, it requires.[61]

[MS. H. S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM WOODFORD

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: It gives me pain, that a Dispute of so delicate a nature as that which makes the Subject of your favour of the 19th. Instt. should be left undetermined and continue the source of uneasiness in officers who deserve well of their Country.[62] This matter will not, as you seem to apprehend, be returned for the consideration of Congress, they have already refered it to their Committee in this Camp, the members of which, judging themselves incompetent to the decision of it, have, as you know, desired a state of the case to be laid before a Board of General Officers, whose Sentence is to be final. As there would be but few Members to compose a Board at the present

[60] Col. Benjamin Flower, of the Artillery Artificer Regiment.

[61] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade; the draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is in that of Alexander Hamilton.

[62] Woodford claimed rank precedence over Brig. Gens. Peter Muhlenberg and George Weedon. Woodford's letter, dated Feb. 19, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*.

moment, I though it would be more satisfactory to all parties, that this business should be postponed to some future day, when the presence of a greater number of Officers will afford an opportunity of obtaining their sense more generally upon the subject, and this is the reason why it was not entered upon immediately.

You are already possessed of my sentiments Sir, with respect to your retiring from the Service, it would give me concern that you should quit the Army at any time; but more particularly on the eve of a campaign, the events of which are likely to be critical and perhaps decisive. If, notwithstanding all the arguments which I have repeatedly used to dissuade you from returning your commission to Congress, you are inflexibly determined on the measure, I can only say, that it will occasion great regret in. Dear Sir Yours &ca.

P. S. If you are desirous of having the Board of Genl. Officers assembled at this time, I have no objection, as I only delayed it on the consideration above mentioned.[63]

To CAPTAIN HENRY LEE

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 19th. instt. informing me of the measures which you have taken for supplying our wants, and the prospects which you have of success. Your application to the Assessors of the several hundreds, was extremely judicious, and I have no doubt that by your activity and prudent management, you will avail yourself of all the resources of the Country, without giving unnecessary umbrage to the inhabitants. Mr. Blaine[64] Deputy Commy. Genl. of Purchases is to call at Head Quarters previous to his setting out for the

[63] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
[64] Ephraim Blaine.

Neighbourhood, in which you are making collections of Cattle &ca. I will give him instructions, to be as well provided as possible with Cash in order to inspire the people with confidence and to facilitate the execution of your plans. I am, etc.[65]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN LACEY, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I received your favours of the 19th. and 20th. instant. With respect to the three men you mention to have taken, when going to Philadelphia, I wish you to examine them and the witnesses on the subject and to punish them in such manner, as they may deserve. If there is any of them, who appear to be great offenders, and to be proper objects for Capital punishment, you will send them to Head Quarters with the witnesses, that he may be tried by a General Court Martial here.

I am informed, there still remains a considerable quantity of Hay at Point no Point,[66] notwithstanding the large supplies the Enemy have obtained from thence. This, it is more than probable, they will attempt to get away before it be long, since all accounts agree, that the forage they collected heretofore is nearly expended. As it is of infinite importance to distress them in this Article, and prevent them obtaining further Supplies, I must request that you will devise some method immediately for destroying all the Hay at the place I have mentioned. The business should be conducted with great address and secrecy, and suddenly, by an active party, under Active and Enterprising Officers. If this is not the case, or the design should be previously talked of or communicated, it is almost certain the Enemy will be informed of it, and will not only find means to prevent the execution of the plan, but will take measures to cut off the party. The situation of the place is some what peculiar

[65] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
[66] On the west bank of the Delaware River.

and difficult. This is an additional motive for secrecy and the greatest activity. If the party could go on one way and come off another, it would be highly eligible, and it appears to me if they could return, their retreat would be the more secure. Guides, in whom you have the strictest confidence, should be provided. If the Officers appointed to Command the party are not acquainted with the Routes themselves; but in procuring them if they are necessary, you must use much caution and Management. I am etc.

P. S. If there is any Hay towards Dunks' ferry[67] or any where else, which you suppose will be liable to the reach of the Enemy, that should be destroyed if you cant remove it.[68]

To CAPTAIN THOMAS CARTWRIGHT[69]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I was favoured last night, with your Letter of the 14th. Instant and with its inclosure.

As no person under our present Military system, can appoint a General Court Martial, but the Commander in Chief or Commanding General in a particular State, I cannot determine on the proceedings transmitted. Those sent by Major General, the Marquiss Dela Fayette, he omitted to deliver. I have written to Colo. Gibson[70] respecting Lieutts. McMichael[71] and Dickenson[72] and ordered that they should be tried again. The causes of complaint, contained in General Wayne's Order for their trial, I have inclosed him, and return you the proceedings in the case of the latter. I am, etc.[73]

[67] Dunk's Ferry, on the Delaware River, south of Bristol, Pa.
[68] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[69] Of Lee's Additional Continental regiment .
[70] Col. George Gibson, of the First Virginia State Regiment.
[71] Lieut. William McMichael, of a Pennsylvania State regiment.
[72] Lieut. Henry Dickenson, of the Fifth Virginia Regiment.
[73] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Sir: Your Letter of the 18th. gives me pleasure, by informing me that you have employed two active persons for the purpose of collecting Cattle and other Articles of provision for the use of this Army, and that your Brother,[74] whose zeal and knowledge of the Country will render him exceedingly useful, is likewise exerting himself in this business. I am persuaded he will need no spur to his activity, if he is sensible of the importance and critical Service which it is in his power to render. With respect to the money, which seems to be so essential to the success of this matter, as Mr. Blaine the Deputy Commy. Genl. of purchases is going into the Country where the collections are making, I will desire him to be as well furnished with this requisite as circumstances will allow, in order to prevent any unwillingness and Jealousies in the minds of the Inhabitants on this account. I am, etc.[75]

To COLONEL GEORGE GIBSON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I last night received your Favor of the 17th. Instant. The same reasons which prevented me determining on the sentences of the Court Martial, ordered by Major General the Marquiss de la Fayette, apply against the proceedings of the Court directed by General Wayne, in the case of Lieuts. McMichael and Dickenson. I make no doubt Colonel Hubley will have shewn you my Letter of the 14th. on that subject. Under our present Military system, none can appoint General Courts Martial, but the Commander in Chief or Commanding General in

[74] Levi Hollingsworth.
[75] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

a particular State. Hence it follows, that the proceedings of a Court otherwise appointed, must be irregular. I sent Colo. Hubley an order upon that occasion, for constituting a New Court, not only for the trial of Mansin [*sic*] and the other criminals, who had been convicted; but for all offenders that might be brought before it. If that Court is sitting, they will try Lieutt. William McMichael of the Pennsylvania State Regiment and Lieutt. Henry Dickenson of the 5th Virginia Regiment, on the charges contained in the inclosed paper. If it is not, you are to assemble one, of which you will be President.

I not only excuse, but thank you much for your conduct respecting Rations. At a time when the Army was nearly experiencing a famine and wanting every possible supply of provision, It would have been highly inexpedient for the Officers at Lancaster to have drawn more Rations than what you allowed. Nor shall the Staff with my consent, ever receive their back claims of this nature in provision. No part of the Army has been allowed the indulgence, supposing they had a right to claim it, which however is very questionable, if not altogether inadmissible; and there can be no reason why the Staff should have a preference.

With respect to the Sick, Houses must be provided for their accommodation, and the Convalescents ought to be seperated from them. Nor should the latter be discharged too soon, as fit for duty, as their coming out in a weak feeble state can answer no valuable purposes; but on the contrary, may bring on relapses and ultimately the loss of their lives. Our situation for want of Clothing is distressing. Our demands are great and universal and our Supplies but scanty and trifling; to give to one part of the Army is to take from another. However, I wish the Clothier General to furnish the Sick, both patients and those under the denomination of Convalescents, upon your order and

those of the Officers appointed to attend the Hospitals in future, with such necessaries as they may really require. In such case, you and the Officers will be very particular in describing the Companies and Corps to which the Men belong, their Names and the Articles they stand in need of, And regular information must be transmitted of the Supplies they obtain to the Commanding Officers of their respective Regiments, that abuses may not be committed and the Men prevented from losing and disposing of what they receive. The Clothier General and his Assistants, will of course know their issues and to what Corps, which will be a check when drafts are applied for again.

We shall certainly want many Horses for our Dragoons. Of this however, you will say nothing, as the proprietors will regulate their prices, at least, in proportion to our necessity. I would wish you to have an Eye to the Horses you mention and to inform yourself, as well as you can, of their number and of the characters of the holders, but in such away as to prevent every suspicion of design.

Your report of the Surgeons, is extremely pleasing and I hope they will continue to exert themselves, to answer the purposes of their appointment and to promote the interest of their Country and the cause of Humanity. I am etc.[76]

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE READ

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Sir: Your favour of the 5th instant inclosing a copy of a Letter from you to Genl Smallwood dated the 26th Ulto. and the substance of his answer, did not reach me till the day before yesterday. It gives me great concern to find that the Legislature of your State[77] has not taken timely and effectual means for completing the Battalion belonging to it. However desirable the

[76] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[77] Delaware.

mode of voluntary inlistments might be, if it offered any adequate prospect of success, our circumstances evidently demand measures of more prompt and certain execution; it is incumbent therefore upon your Legislative body, as a duty which they owe both to their own State and the Continent at large, to pursue with energy the method of drafting which has been successfully practised in other States. Indeed, I expect, that you will shortly be called upon by Congress for this purpose. The property of the Clothing taken in the prize Sloop, will I presume be determined by certain Resolutions of Congress, Copies of which were sent to Genl Smallwood in order to settle a dispute of a similar nature. But however this matter may be decided, you ought undoubtedly to secure a sufficient quantity of this necessary article to supply the wants of the Delaware Battalion. I am totally ignorant of any interruption having been given by the Military, to the election of Representatives in your State. It is much to be lamented that at a Season when our affairs demand the most perfect harmony and greatest Vigour in all publick proceedings, there should be any languor, occasioned by divisions, your efforts cannot be better employed than in conciliating the discordant parties and restoring Union.

The representations against the Commissaries of Purchases, I fear are too well founded; such orders shall be given to the principal of the Department for this district, as will, I hope, in some degree remedy the evils complained of. I have the honour etc.[78]

To WILLIAM DUER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 16th instant communicating the intelligence you had received respecting the scheme

[78] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. The letter sent, which is also in the writing of Laurens, is dated February 22. It is owned by Hon. Richard S. Rodney, Wilmington, Del., and is mutilated.

of investing this camp and cutting off its supplies. Your being unacquainted with our present position and the circumstance you mention of an intimation from General St. Clair of the possibility of such an event, very naturally occasioned Biddle's[79] insinuations to make the impression it did on your mind. But it is a project, which appears to me totally impracticable with the enemys present force, or even with one much greater; and I believe the experiment will hardly be made. The extensive line or rather circle they must occupy, to keep up the communication from post to post, necessary to intercept our intercourse with the country, would so divide and string out their force, that they would be very little able to defend themselves at any given point and would expose themselves to ruin in case of an attack from us. I am inclined to believe you must be under some misapprehension, with respect to General St. Clairs observations; and that he alluded to something else than an investiture. I am, etc.

P. S. We have one bridge nearly completed. Defects in the Qur. Masters department have delayed it hitherto.[80]

To SOUTHY SIMPSON

Head Quarters, February 21, 1778.

Sir: I receiv'd your favour by Major Sneed.[81] Your request to suffer the drafts in that part of the Country to remain there,[82] is an indulgence, I am sorry to say, I cannot with the least

[79] Duer had written: "I esteem it my Duty to inform you that a certain Mr. John Biddle has lately gone into the Enemy, who has an Exact Draft of your Camp; before he went in he told a Person confidentially that he could put the Enemy in a Way of investing it in such a Manner as to cut off your Communication with the Country, and thereby prevent the Supply of Provisions &ca." Biddle was a deputy quartermaster who deserted to the enemy. He was a native of Bucks County and Duer said was an excellent draftsman. Duer's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[80] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[81] Maj. Thomas Snead, of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment. He resigned in March, 1778.

[82] Simpson was in Virginia. He had been a member of the House of Burgesses in 1770. His letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

propriety consent to; and am persuaded, when you have weighed the matter in your own mind, you will be of opinion with me. Many parts of this Continent, as to their situation and circumstances, resemble yours, and fixing the precedent with you, would inevitably afford sufficient cause for those to make the like application. Many other arguments may be used; but trusting that you will readily give up the idea, I shall omit them; returning you my sincere thanks for the warm manner in which you express your anxiety to serve the cause. I am, etc.[83]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, Sunday, February 22, 1778.

Parole Orkney. Countersigns Ormond, Otway.

The Commissary General, is, if possible to keep the Camp well supplied with rice for the use of the sick; if rice cannot be had, Indian meal is to be provided in it's place; and as this is an article that can at all times and under all circumstances be had no excuse will be admitted for the neglect.

He is every Monday to make a return of all his issues in the course of the week and of his stock on hand in Camp, and on the first day of every month the issues in the month preceeding are to be carefully made out and forwarded to the Commissary General who is to return the whole in one view as Soon after as possible to The Commander in Chief. A Monthly Return is also to be made of the quantity of provisions and other articles in the Commissary's department.

The regimental Surgeons are desired to be more punctual in making returns of their sick to the Chief Surgeon of the flying Hospital present on every Monday.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colonel Cortlandt was President (Feby. 17th. 1778) Thomas Scott of 5th. Pennsylvania Regiment tried for desertion and unanimously acquitted:

[83] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Likewise Thomas Lawler of 4th. Pennsylvania Regt. tried for deserting to the Enemy the 5th. of October last, found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on. Also James Low of 13th. Pennsylvania Regiment tried for the same Crime found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back. Also John Henry of 7th. Pennsylvania Regiment tried for the same crime and acquitted.

Likewise Thomas Whitney of Colo. Bowman's Company of Artillery tried for the same crime found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on.

At the Same Court William Harris of 9th. Pennsylvania Regiment tried for getting drunk, threatening the life of one Cameron and knocking him down, also for striking the Corporal of the quarter Guard after being confined, and Dennis Kennedy of 9th. Pennsylvania Regt. tried for striking and abusing Said Cameron and threatning to desert as soon as he got shoes and cursing Congress; William Harris found guilty of striking the Corporal of the Guard, being a breach of Article 5th. Section 18th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive thirty lashes on his bare back. Dennis Kennedy found guilty also of the charge alledged against him and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back.

The Commander in Chief approves the aforegoing sentences and orders those against Lawler, Low, Whitney, Harris and Kennedy to be put in execution tomorrow morning at roll-call at the heads of the regiments to which they respectively belong. Scott to be immediately released from his confinement also Henry who is to join his regiment.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 22, 1778.

Sir: Your favour of the 16th. instant came duly to hand. I cannot but be highly sensible of the fresh proofs given, of that

zeal which yourself in particular, and the State of New Jersey in general, have so uniformly manifested in the common cause, and of the polite regard you have in repeated instances shewn to my applications. I lament the additional load of business heaped upon you from the sources you mention, and earnestly hope, that painful experience will teach us so to correct our former mistakes and reform past abuses, as to lighten the burden of those whole time and attention are devoted to the execution of their duty and the service of the public.

I feel with you the absolute necessity of calling forth the united efforts of these states, to relieve our wants, and prevent in future a renewal of our distresses; and the impossibility of answering these purposes by partial exertions. Nothing on my part has been or will be omitted, that may in the least tend to put our affairs upon this only footing, on which they can have any stability or success.

I shall be obliged to your Excellency to send immediately to camp the troop of horse you can spare. I have the honour, etc.

P. S. In terms similar to those addressed to you in my late letters, have I called upon Connecticut, New York, Maryland and Virginia, for aid in these our days of distress; but nothing less than a change in the system can effect a radical cure of the evils we labor under at present.[84]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Monday, February 23, 1778.

Parole Peru. Countersigns Poor, Paterson.

Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Brigades to meet tomorrow morning ten o'Clock at General Sullivan's quarters to make a just distribution of the cloathing in the Cloathier

[84] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

General's department now in Camp and near at hand on it's way to it, in proportion to the real necessities of the men, in order to which the Commanding officers of Regiments and Corps are to make an exact return of the wants of their men to their respective Brigadiers and officers Commanding Brigades before the time prescribed for their meeting. The board in their distribution are to have particular regard to the Artillery and other Corps not attach'd to any particular State having consequently no chance of other supplies, and are to make them an allowance accordingly. The Officer commanding Morgan's Light Corps will furnish the board with a return of the wants of the men under his command regimentally digested, for which they are to make as generous and effectual proportion as circumstances will permit. Duplicates of the returns to be made to the commanding officers of the respective Regiments from which these men were drafted, who are to take proper notice of the same in their regimental Accounts.

This is not meant to exclude them from a share in the State Cloathing which has been or may be furnish'd, but on the contrary the Brigadiers are directed to see that strict justice be done them in this respect.

The Regimental Pay-Masters who have not yet delivered to the Pay-Master General their abstracts for the extra month's Pay are order'd to do it immediately. They are also to deliver in the remainder of their abstracts for the months of December and January without delay.

Some of the abstracts for the extra month's pay having been delivered to the Pay-Master General without being signed by the Brigadier, the Pay-Masters are to take the same back that they may be properly compleated.

The Quarter Masters belonging to General Scott's and Muhlenberg's Brigades and the Corps of Artillery who drew the

cloathing for the same at White-Marsh are desired to send the Regimental Receipts for the proportion delivered each Regiment immediately to the Deputy Clothier General as there is a necessity for the same. And all officers having private Accounts with them are again desired to call and settle them.

To CAPTAINS EDWARD SCULL, ALEXANDER PATTERSON, AND WILLIAM WILSON[85]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 23, 1778.

Gentlemen: I received yours of the 18th. from Lancaster, in behalf of Yourselves and others appointed to superintend the recruiting Service.

If, upon the representation which you, intend to make to the Assembly when they meet, you do not get such an allowance as will defray your necessary Expenses, it cannot be expected that you will continue upon a Service, by which you will be losers. The Bounty of Eight dollars for each recruit, would, in my opinion, be fully sufficient, if there was any chance of the Business going on with success; But I fear it will not, upon the Terms held forth by this State. I am etc.[86]

To PRESIDENT THOMAS WHARTON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 23, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 17th instant. The Militia from the westward, who had been detained by the badness of the weather, have arrived at Genl Lacey's Camp, and those from Northampton have, I hope, come in by this time. Their presence had become exceedingly necessary, as the insolence of the disaffected in Philadelphia and Bucks Counties had arisen

[85] Of the Fourth, Twelfth, and First Pennsylvania Regiments, respectively.
[86] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

to a very alarming Height. They have seized and carried off a number of respectable inhabitants in those Counties, and such Officers of the Army as fell in their way; among others, Major Murray[87] of the 13th Pennsylvania Regt. who was at Newtown with his family. What adds to the misfortune, is, that they carried off near 2000 Yards of Cloth, which had been collected in the County and was making up for the Regiment. In the last paragraph of your Letter, you say that the Clothing coming to Camp is for the 3d, 6th, 9th and 12th Battalions, as you expected that the 13th. would be otherwise supplied. You probably had the Cloth at Newtown in view when you wrote, but that being lost, you will undoubtedly make proper provision for that Regiment.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear that a difference between the Officers and Men of the Continental troops and those of the Militia should damp the exertions of the latter. It has been my constant endeavour, since I have had the honour to command the forces of the united States, to prevent all animosities and jealousies between the troops of different States, whether regular or Militia, by exercising the most impartial line of Conduct towards all. I very well know, that, except there is a mutual confidence and good understanding between all the component parts of an Army, that the service must be manifestly injured, and therefore you may depend that I will take particular care, when the Army takes the field in the Spring and when we shall, more than probably, be obliged to call upon the Militia to act in conjunction with us, to endeavour to remove the causes of Complaint.

I hope the unhappy dispute that arose at the Sign of the Compass, between a few Officers of the Continental Army and the

[87] Maj. Francis Murray. He was captured on February 21; exchanged in December, 1780, and did not return to the Army.

Militia, will rather be looked upon as an accidental matter, than the effect of a general and fixed hatred between those two bodies of Men embarked in the same cause, and who ought to afford a mutual support to each other and to turn their Arms against the common Enemy, rather than upon one another. I also hope, that all prejudice upon the part of the Country may be laid aside upon this occasion, and the most impartial inquiry made into this matter.

Inclosed you have a Copy of a representation sent to me by Captns. Scull, Patterson and Wilson, in behalf of themselves and the Officers sent to superintend the recruiting service. As they mean to address the Legislature upon the same subject, I take it for granted that they will explain themselves more fully, and point out the reasons for demanding a greater Sum than allowed in the recruiting instructions. As the expence of riding about the Country, at this time, is very heavy and certain, and the chance of procuring recruits very uncertain, perhaps they may think a reasonable allowance per day, a more equitable mode.

I shall have another Officer appointed in the room of Lieut. Hammond[88] and four more for the County of Philadelphia and two for the County of Bucks. The blank instructions shall be properly filled up for them. I have the honour, etc.[89]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 23, 1778.

Sir: I am honored with your two favours of the 14th and 18th Instant with their inclosures.

[88] Lieut. Benjamin Hammond, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been killed Feb. 20, 1778.

[89] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

With respect to the subject of the former, to obtain redress in the case of Mr. Heister,[90] the mode suggested in the postscript, appears to me the most eligible and I shall take the first opportunity to transmit a copy of your letter to Genl Heath, with the directions required.

I shall take the measures, necessary on my part, to comply with the views of Congress in the regulations which have been made in the Ordnance department; and should be happy did any additional ones occur to me, that might conduce to the advancement of the department, to submit them to the board, but at present, there do not.

Some time since, General Knox shewed me an estimate of ordnance and stores, for the use of the ensuing campaign, which he intended to lay before the board. I should be glad to be informed what prospects there are of procuring the requisite supplies. I am extremely apprehensive that we shall suffer much, and have the operations of the campaign greatly retarded and enfeebled from a deficiency in some essential articles, unless the most strenuous exertions are employed, to make the ample provision of which we shall stand in need. The board, I doubt not, will feel the importance of doing every thing in their power to prevent a deficiency of this kind; and will bestow their utmost attention and zeal, upon a matter of such interesting consequence. I have the honor, etc.[91]

P. S. 26th. Inclosed is a piece of intelligence I have just received, to which I beg the attention of the board, and that they will take proper measures to apprehend Robinson.[92]

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[90] Daniel Heister, jr., of Pennsylvania, who had been seized by the British. (See Washington's letter to Major General Heath, Mar. 14, 1778, *post.*)

[91] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[92] John Robinson, of Shermans Valley, Pa. He was reported to be collecting a force of loyalists to seize all civil officers he could and to join the British in Philadelphia. The intelligence came from Miss Anne Myers, of Philadelphia, through Maj. John Jameson.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, V. Forge, Tuesday, February 24, 1778.

Parole Russia. Countersigns Randolph, Russell.

At a General Court-Martial whereof Col. Cortlandt was President (Feby. 19th. 1778) Mr. Edward Bennett, Forage-Master in the Marquis La Fayette's division tried for repeated neglect of duty in suffering the horses of the division to remain three days without Forage when there was Forage in the General Forage yard, and all the divisions in the Army drew, for neglecting to draw hay when to be got and for trusting to others what he should himself perform by which many horses in the division have perished and the whole of the teams rendered unfit for duty.

The Court after due deliberation are of opinion that forage was not drawn for horses of the Marquis's division between the 10th. and 14th. instant; it also appears to them that Forage was drawn at that time by different brigades in the Army. It also appears to them that the chief of the business of getting Forage from the forage yard has been done by Mr. Bennett's Assistant; It also appears to them that Mr. Bennett when he went into the Country after forage, in two instances, employed at each time a Waggon he had with him in carting Cyder instead of attending the business he went on. The Court are therefore unanimously of opinion that Mr. Bennett has been neglectful of his duty in not getting forage for the horses of the division to which he belongs when it could have been procured whereby many of them have perished for the want of it, being a breach of Article 5th. Section 18th. of the Articles of War and they do sentence him to be dismissed from his employment in the forage department.

At the same Court Barney Deland a soldier in 6th. Pennsylvania Regiment tried for attempting to desert and persuading

a number of others to desert with him acquitted of the first part of the charge but found guilty of persuading others to desert, being a breach of Article 4th. Section 6th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive an hundred lashes on his naked back.

At the Court by adjournment (Feby. 23rd. 1778) Henry Lewis and John Hambleton Inhabitants of Pennsylvania tried for attempting to carry Provisions into Philadelphia, found not guilty of a breach of a resolution of Congress, dated October 8th. 1777, and acquitted. Also James Baily of Colonel Brewer's Regiment tried for attempting to desert to the enemy, plead guilty of a breach of 1st. Article Section 6th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his naked back &c.

The Commander in Chief approves the foregoing sentences and orders those against Deland and Bailey to be put in execution tomorrow morning at 8 o'Clock at the head of the Regiments to which they respectively belong; Lewis and Hambleton to be immediately released from confinement and Bennett to be dismissed from his employment in the forage department.

*To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Valley Forge, February 24, 1778.

Sir: I yesterday received your favor of the 19th. Instt. I am as averse to controversy, as any Man, and had I not been forced into it, you never would have had occasion to impute to me, even the shadow of a disposition towards it. Your repeatedly and Solemnly disclaiming any offensive views, in those matters, which have been the subject of our past correspondence, makes me willing to close with the desire, you express, of burying them hereafter in silence, and as far as future events will permit, oblivion. My temper leads me to peace and harmony with all Men; and it is particularly my wish, to avoid any personal feuds or dissentions with those, who are embarked in the

same great National interest with myself, as every difference of this kind must in its consequences be very injurious. I am etc.

[N.Y.H.S.]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE MILITIA AT HADDONFIELD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 24, 1778.

Sir: I have sent over Captn. Lieut Symonds[93] to take the charge of some pieces of heavy Artillery, with which I have directed him, to give the Enemy's Shipping near the City all the annoyance in his power, while the river continues in its present situation. He will stand in need of a body of Infantry to cover the Artillery in this Operation and to aid in throwing up some little work, that may be necessary to give them greater security and enable them to act with more effect. I have therefore to request, you will give him all the Assistance you can afford, from the Militia under your command. He may possibly have it, in his power to do something to advantage, by means of red hot shot, or otherwise. I am etc.[94]

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT JONAS SYMONDS[95]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 24, 1778.

Sir: You are to proceed forthwith into the State of New Jersey, and apply to Captn. Alexander[96] of the Navy, who is hereby directed to deliver you the pieces of heavy artillery, at present under his care; with which, you are to give all the annoyance, in your power, by means of red hot shot, or any other, that may appear to you effectual, to the enemy's shipping near

[93] The draft leaves the name blank, but the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress has Symond's name inserted.

[94] The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

[95] Of the Second Continental Artillery.

[96] Capt. Charles Alexander, of the Continental Navy.

the city of Philadelphia. The most eligible mode of proceeding to effect this, as to the choice of position, the construction of any necessary work, or other matter whatever, I must leave to your own discretion, to be governed by circumstances. But I must observe to you, the necessity of guarding against a surprise, or the loss of your cannon and party, in case of any attempt for that purpose being made by the enemy: in order to which, I have written to the commanding officer of the Jersey Militia at Haddonfield, to afford you all the aid he can, from the militia under his command, as a security for your cannon and to assist in raising any little work you may find requisite. You will apply to him accordingly, and enter upon the purposes for which you are sent, as speedily as possible. One thing you will have particularly to attend to, is, that as you will have to act on a point of land, or kind of peninsula, there will be great danger of the enemy throwing parties above and below you, and getting into your rear, in which case your retreat would be intercepted. This will require a good lookout, out pretty far on both your flanks.[97]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Wednesday, February 25, 1778.

Parole Sunderland. Countersigns Sullivan, Stirling.

The Brigadiers General and Officers commanding Brigades in pursuance of yesterdays orders have made a distribution of Cloathing. The Commanding officers of Regiments and Corps may receive their respective proportions accordingly by applying to the Commissary of Cloathing.

At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Cortlandt was President, February 16th, '78, Lieutt. Tipton[98] of 12th. Virginia

[97] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[98] Lieut. Abraham Tipton. He resigned Mar. 16, 1778; served subsequently as captain of a Virginia State regiment; was killed by Indians near Ohio Falls in 1781.

Regiment tried for gaming and behaving unbecoming the Character of an Officer or Gentleman and acquitted of the charge exhibited against him.

The General cannot perceive upon what principle the Court acquitted Lt. Tipton having been clearly convicted of gaming, which is a palpable breach of the general orders prohibiting it in every form and is therefore obliged to disapprove the sentence yet as Lieutenant Tipton has undergone his trial it would be improper to bring him to a second; he is of course to be released from his arrest.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I yesterday received your Two favors of the 15th. and 21st. Instant.

I thank you much for the trouble you took in procuring the several Articles, which came by Serjeant Sprig. The Caledonian pistols and both Swords I return. The latter are too small. I wish to be informed, by the earliest opportunity, of the prices of the other Articles, that I may transmit you the Money.

I will order the Directors of the Hospital, to furnish medicine and supplies for the sick at Newport. In the mean time, the Quarter Master of the Division will accommodate them, as well as it may be in his power. I approve of your proposal for inoculating and wish the business to go on, as fast as possible.

I am sorry to find, that you are under inconveniences with respect to provisions and seem to apprehend that bad consequences may result from the supplies we are drawing from below for the use of this Army. This is the result of an irresistable necessity, and such, as under the present circumstances of affairs, cannot be avoided. I have been obliged to exert every nerve to keep the Troops here together, and I trust you will spare no pains in your power to accommodate those with you.

I should hope, sufficient supplies may be drawn for them from the Country below and from the adjacent Counties in Maryland, notwithstanding what we are getting.

The conduct of Mr. Huggins[99] has been much complained of. Colo. Blaine,[1] who is about Wilmington or the Head of Elk, has been spoken to about him. I wish you to represent to him his conduct again and get him removed. If he neglects to do it, you will appoint Captain Rumford[2] to act in that line and I will direct Colo. Blaine to supply him with Money. I approve your seizing Canby's Flour, as I have not the smallest doubt, from your information, but it was designed for the Enemy You will keep an account of the quantity and also of the quality.

I wrote you by Colo. Blaine respecting Mr. Rutherford[3] and about sending officers to Maryland.

I must request you, to make me Regular returns every Week of the Troops under your command. It is a necessary duty and unless it is done, It is impossible to know the State of the Army, or how to regulate in any essential matters.

With respect to the board of the Officer's Wives,[4] it is a matter you must determine yourself. I imagined they had been sent to Philadelphia, soon after the prize was taken. I do not suppose, that the public will suppose themselves liable for it, as they do not consider themselves prisoners, and it might be deemed ungenerous to make the Ladies pay it themselves, after so long a detention. As you and your Officers only, have had the pleasure of their company and conversation, I believe you must adjust the matter among you, as well as you can. But it were to be wished, the Ladies may be sent into their Friends without further delay, as their continuance where they are, can

[99] Thomas Huggins, Assistant Deputy Commissary of Purchases.

[1] Col. Ephraim Blaine.

[2] Capt. Jonathan Rumford. He had been a captain of the Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp in 1776.

[3] Rutherford was a Philadelphia shoe manufacturer.

[4] The wives of British officers captured in a prize.

only serve to increase the expence and the difficulty of getting rid of them.

I can not find, from inquiry, that Patrick McCord belongs to any Regiment here and therefore send him back according to your request. I am etc.

P. S. Upon consideration of the situation of Newport, I think, if a more interior place could be conveniently got, proper for a Hospital, it were to be wished. Tho' it is not immediately on the Delaware, yet it lies rather too much exposed.[5]

To CAPTAIN HENRY LEE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favors of the 1st. and 22d. from Dover and am much obliged for the steps you have taken and are taking for procuring Supplies for the Army. All the Cattle that are tolerably fit for slaughter, must be immediately consumed on account of our present necessity, and therefore should be drove towards Camp, as fast as they can be collected. I do not think that Kent in Maryland or any part of the Eastern Shore, a proper place to form a magazine of the lean ones, because if the Enemy were to land but a few men upon any part of the Delaware State, it is so short a way across the Isthmus, that they would sweep what are collected before any force would be drawn together to oppose them and I have some information that such an excursion is in contemplation. Again, if the Enemy should establish a post any where down the River in the Spring, a thing by no means improbable, on account of the opportunity it would afford them of obtaining supplies from the disaffected in the Delaware State, they might, by extending themselves across, render it very difficult for us to draw our Stores from any Magazines below Christeen. For these Reasons, I should think it best to have all the lean Cattle drove into

[5] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Richard Kidder Meade.

Chester County at first; from whence they may be distributed thro' the upper parts of that county, Lancaster and Berks. This is a fine Country for Forage and Grass, and being directly in our Rear is perfectly safe. Colo. Hollingsworth[6] who is well acquainted with the Country, can inform you what part of the County of Chester would be most proper to drive the lean Cattle to.

I have, agreeable to your desire, wrote to the president of the Delaware State recommending it to him to endeavour to procure a law, making it penal for any person knowingly to harbour Deserters. If they do this, any officer sent to apprehend Deserters may bring an offender to justice, which they cannot at present do for want of such a law.

Mr. Blaine the Deputy Commy. General of purchases, has gone down to the lower Counties by my direction, he will be able to form some Judgment of the amount of the Cattle and other provision that you take off, and will fall upon the proper means to procure payment. I am &ca.[7]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 26, 1778.

Parole Tartary. Countersigns Titcomb, Tubbs.

Captain Daniel Duval[8] and Adjutant Haskell[9] are to act as Brigade Majors, one in General McIntosh's the other in General Paterson's Brigade 'till the return of Majors Berrien[10] and McClure.[11]

[6] Col. Henry Hollingsworth, Deputy Forage Master General.

[7] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[8] Of the Fifth Virginia(?) Regiment.

[9] Lieut. Elnathan Haskell, of the Fourteenth Massachusetts Regiment. He was captain in April, 1778; brigade major in May, 1778; transferred to Fourth Massachusetts Regiment in January, 1781; aide to Gen. Robert Howe in September, 1782; served to end of the war.

[10] Maj. John Berrien, brigade major of a North Carolina brigade. He was wounded at Monmouth, N. J.; aide to General McIntosh; served to close of the war.

[11] Maj. John(?) McClure, of the Georgia Militia.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 26, 1778.

Dear Sir: I duly received yours of the 13th. instant, and am happy to learn the works on the North River are getting into some train for execution, though I could wish circumstances had permitted them to be in greater forwardness as I consider them of the last importance. For if the enemy next campaign, should be able to open a navigation up the North River, to mention no other ill consequence, that may insue, I see not how we shall be able to conduct the affairs of this Army under the uncertainty and difficulty, which will attend drawing supplies from the Eastward.

I am concerned at the inconveniences you suffer, from a scarcity of money, but is a common subject of complaint, and we experience it as much as you do. I am informed there is a supply on its way to you; but lest this should not be the case, or the supply should not be adequate to your wants, I have represented your situation to Congress, and urged the necessity, as far as possible, of affording you relief.

The Clothier General shall be directed to furnish a proportion of Cloaths for the use of the men under your command. In the prohibition I made, some time since, I only meant to hinder any breach being made upon the Cloathing intended for and coming on to this Army, which is productive of much confusion and inconvenience. But I did not suppose, the Clothier would have been inattentive to the wants of the Troops with you, or would have neglected ordering proper supplies, purposely for them.

With respect to the number of men, necessary for the defence of the Posts, in your charge, it is to be observed, that it will depend upon circumstances, and be relative to the number the

Enemy can bring against them. With their present force, in the vicinity of your command, a smaller number than you mention will be sufficient, for defence; but should they be able to draw together a much larger force, it would be requisite to increase yours in proportion. But it is impossible to say what number of troops, it will be in our power actually to station in your department. This must be governed by the general amount of our strength and the strength of the Enemy. At present we are very deficient every where, but if the States will exert themselves, as they ought to do, we may be enabled to make liberal provision for all our Posts. I am etc.[12]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 26, 1778.

Dear Sir: In answer to yours of this morning, I think it advisable, that a couple of officers, one from the New Hampshire and one from the Massachusetts troops, should be immediately sent on by different routes, in quest of the cloathing; with directions to proceed on towards Fishkill till they meet it. As from other information, besides what you now communicate, I have reason to believe there is a large quantity of cloathing on its way from Massachusetts, which it is of great importance to secure from any accident; let the Officers be directed, if either of them overtake it near the North River, to apply to General Parsons for an escort in proportion to the quantity; and give it a route directly towards Easton, and when it reaches, or is near that place, to advise me of it by express, that I may send an escort to meet it there and relieve the other. If the cloathing from either state should be found on the other side Coryell's ferry, it must be turned up towards East-Town, cross there, and come

[12] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

to camp by an upper road. If it should have already crossed the Delaware, it must in that case strike up into the Country, and take a circuitous route to camp. It is better, there should be some delay, than to risk their loss. Wherever the Massachusetts cloathing may be overtaken, as the quantity will probably be large, I should wish to be advised of it by express, that measures may be taken to give it proper security, by an escort or covering party. I am, etc.

P. S. In our present uncertainty where the cloathing may be, I do not think it would be proper to send a detachment of men in search of it; which might be to fatigue them to no purpose. It will be well to caution the officers sent, to keep their business a secret.[13]

To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE READ

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 26, 1778.

Sir: Capt. Lee and several Officers, who are sent to apprehend Deserters, inform me, that there are numbers of disaffected Persons in your State, who make a practice of harbouring those people. They are encouraged to do this, knowing there is at present no law to punish this crime, which is most pernicious to the service. I have for this reason taken the liberty to address the Legislature of your State through you, and I hope you will use your influence with them to endeavour to procure a law adequate to the remedy of this abuse. The necessity is so evident that I trust they will not hesitate to do it. If such a law can be procured, it will add much to the utility of it to have it done speedily, because Officers are now waiting, who would carry it immediately into execution and the men brought into the field by the opening of the Campaign. I am informed, that there are

[13] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The letter sent, in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, is in the New Hampshire Historical Society. It differs from the above draft in spelling and capitalization only.

not less than three hundred deserters in your three Counties. I hope you will afford Capt. Lee all necessary assistance and countenance in the execution of the Business which he is upon, in doing which you will render essential service to the public cause and confer an obligation upon, sir, etc.[14]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 27, 1778.

Sir: I am now to acknowledge the Honor of your several Favors of the 18th, 19th and 21st Instant which with their respective Inclosures have been duly received.

In compliance with the Resolution of Congress of the 5th Inst. transmitted in your Letter of the 7th. I was about to take measures for appointing a Court Martial and bringing on the Trials, which they direct. But on recurring to the papers, you were pleased to send me, I do not find that the Committee have made any particular charges against the Officers who are to be the objects of trial.[15] It was probably the intention of Congress, that these charges should be laid by me, but as I might err in doing it, and not fully correspond with their views in the matter, especially as it would require considerable time and thought, to make myself sufficiently acquainted with It, from the papers collected, I should think it would be most advisable, for Congress to state explicitly the charges they wish to have exhibited against the Officers respectively; and then the business may be proceeded on with propriety.

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[15] "Resolved, That the committee be directed to transmit the evidence by them collected to General Washington, and that he be authorized and directed to appoint a court martial for the trial of the general officers who were in the northern department when Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated, agreeable to the rules and articles of war: That two counsellors, learned in the law, be appointed to assist and cooperate with the judge advocate in conducting the trial. The gentlemen chosen: Jonathan D. Sergeant, Esq., attorney general for the State of Pennsylvania; William Patterson, Esqr. attorney general for the State of New Jersey." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Feb. 10, 1778.)

Besides the above reasons, which operate generally against my exhibiting the charges, in the particular instance of General Schuyler, it is impossible for me to do it, as I do not know what instructions he had received from Congress from time to time as to the objects of his command, nor precisely what these were. These appear to me necessary to be known, and essential to carrying on a prosecution against him. When Congress shall have arranged the points and are pleased to honor me with them, I will pursue the speediest measures to bring on the Trials.[16] The sooner this can be done the better, as some of the parties are extremely anxious and strongly importune it.

Baron Steuben has arrived at Camp. He appears to be much of a Gentleman, and as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, a man of Military knowledge and acquainted with the World.

The inclosed Extract of a Letter from General Putnam[17] will shew how great the distresses in that Quarter for want of Money. He has described their necessities so fully, that it is unnecessary for me to add upon the subject. I shall only observe, that his account is more than justified by many other Letters, and that I am persuaded, the earliest possible supply will be forwarded, that the very important and interesting works carrying on there may not be the least retarded.

I am under some embarrassments respecting the 13th Virginia Regiment. It was raised on the West side of the Allegahany and towards Pittsburg with Assurances from the Officers, it is said, that the men would not be drawn from that Quarter.

[16] On March 6 it was ordered that so much of Washington's letter of February 27 as relates to the court-martial on the officers in the Northern Department be referred to a committee of four. The members chosen were William Ellery, James Smith, Eliphalet Dyer, and James Lovell.

[17] Putnam's letter, dated Feb. 13, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*. The extract noted is filed with this letter from Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

This circumstance, added to the disturbances by the Indians and the exposed situation of their families, has been the cause of great desertions and is at present the source of much uneasiness; and the more so as part of the Regiment was never marched from thence. I think the whole should be united, either here or there, and wish Congress to direct me upon the subject. At the same time that their case, if truly represented, seems to be hard and to merit the indulgence they claim, I would observe that the 12th Regiment from the Western parts of the same State and the 8th and 12th Pennsylvania from the Frontier Counties of this, have similar pretentions and might become uneasy and apply for a like indulgence.

Agreeable to the directions of Congress, I shall send a Major General to Rhode Island.[18] Tho' the number of Officers here of this rank, from one cause and another, is greatly reduced and more so than it ought to be in point of policy.

Our loss of Matrosses the last Campaign, in killed and wounded, was considerable, and it has been not a little increased this Winter by desertions from Colo. Proctor's Corps. From these circumstances, we are very weak in this line, and I request that Congress will be pleased to order Colo. Harrison's Regiment of Artillery to march from Virginia, as early as the Roads will admit and join this Army. I have the honor, etc.[19]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 27, 1778.

Sir: The frequent complaints of the Brigade Majors and Adjutants, for want of Writing Paper, obliges me to call the attention of the Board to the procurement of that necessary

[18] Maj. Gen. John Sullivan was sent.
[19] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

article. Colo. Pickering can inform them how much the service suffers on that account, from his experience while in the office of Adjutant General. I know it properly belongs to the Quarter Master General's department to provide paper, but the Deputy who has attended the Army has not been able to furnish any thing like the proper quantity. I fear it is not to be obtained on the Continent, as all the Mills are fully employed in making Cartridges and printing paper; I would therefore wish that orders may be given to the purchasers of Military stores, to buy what writing paper may fall in their way, and that the secret Committee or whatever body has the Management of importations from abroad, may be desired to include paper among other Articles. If they were also desired to import a parcel of blank Books proper for Orders, it would be very convenient. I have the honor, etc.[20]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been regularly favoured with yours of the 13th. 18th. 19th. and 25th. January and 10th. Current.

As these letters principally respect your transactions with General Burgoyne, you will be guided by the directions of Congress as far as relates to him.

If they consent to the Exchange of Colo. Anstruther[21] and Lord Napier,[22] I have not the least objection. I only desire that the Exchange may not be carried into execution, until Mr. Boudinot the Commissary General of Prisoners informs you, what Officers you are to demand in return for them. If the matter takes place be pleased to mention Lord Napier's rank.

[20] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[21] Lieut. Col. John Anstruther, of the Sixty-second Foot, British Army.
[22] Francis, Lord Napier, lieutenant of the Thirty-first Foot, British Army.

Considering Genl. Learned's ill state of Health, I think his resignation had better be accepted of, more especially, as from the nature of his complaint, it does not appear that he ever can be able to bear the fatigues of a Campaign. I would therefore advise him to make his Resignation to Congress, (with the Reasons for so doing) who are the proper Body to receive it. I am, &ca.[23]

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN STEPHEN CHAMBERS[24]

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 27, 1778.

Sir: You are aware, that the purposes of the party under your command, are, as much as possible, to cover the Roads leading into Philadelphia, cut off the communication between the city and country, and prevent the depredations, daily committing by the enemy's parties. Your own discretion also and knowledge of the Country, will point out the best means of accomplishing these ends. I shall only observe, that in order thereto, and for the security of your party, it will be incumbent on you, never to remain long in the same place, but to be constantly changing your position and quarters.

There is one thing, to which I would point your particular attention; which is, as far as circumstances and the general intention of your party will permit, to keep yourself in a posture most convenient, for covering any supplies, that may be coming to this Army. Should you hear of any large quantity of cloathing, or provisions, coming to camp, which are not accompanied by a proper escort, I would have you take it under your care, and see it safe on its way.

[23] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent, also in Tilghman's writing, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It varies in inconsequential details from the above.

[24] Of the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment.

To induce your men to be more active and zealous in the execution of their duty; every thing which may be *actually* taken going into, or coming out from the city, shall be the property of the captors. But to prevent an abuse of this privilege, by making it a cover for plundering the inhabitants, it must always be managed under the eye of a commissioned officer, and no forfeiture must be made, but where the fact is clearly ascertained. One principal object of your command, is to protect the country, it is therefore peculiarly your duty to prevent any violence on the persons or property of the inhabitants, being perpetrated by your party.

When any horses or cattle happen to be taken, you will order them immediately to camp to be delivered to the Quarter Master, or Commissary General, for the public service. Directions will be given them to pay the captors the value of what they receive on a generous estimate.[25]

To JAMES MEASE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: General Putnam writes me, that the men, under his command, have been totally neglected, in the article of cloathing, and that since my prohibiting him to break in upon those parcels, which were on their way to this camp, he has had no cloathing at all for the use of his department. At the same time, that I wish to prevent irregularity and confusion, by an exercise of such a power; it cannot be my intention to exclude the troops under him, more than others, from such a share of necessaries, as circumstances will justify. I must request your attention to this matter, and that you will leave no just room for complaint; but will order on to Fishkill, from time to time, regular and proportionable supplies of cloathing. I am, etc.[25]

[25] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, V. Forge, Saturday, February 28, 1778.

Parole Warsaw. Countersigns Washington, Woodford.

A return of the drums, drum-heads, Snares cords &c. and Fifes wanting in the several Brigades to be made immediately.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col. Cortland was President (Feby. 25th.) Thomas Booth of 4th. North-Carolina Regiment tried for desertion found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be put in execution tomorrow eight o'clock at the head of the Regiment to which he belongs.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 28, 1778.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday favd. with yours of the 25th. from Haddonfield. The Cattle that you collect, should cross the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry and then keep higher up the Country before they strike across. They should fall in with Schuylkill, at Potts Grove and cross the River there. A considerable escort should attend them. We lost a fine drove of 130 Head that were coming from New England, a few days ago. Some of the disaffected in Bucks County, gave information of them and a party of light Horse pushed up twenty miles and carried them off. When you come over with your detachment, you should keep a good look out between you and Philadelphia, for you may depend that they will have information of you, thro' the means of their friends with which the Country abounds.

I sent a party of Artillery men, to attempt to annoy the shipping that lay at Philadelphia, while there was Ice in the River,

but as that must be all destroyed by the late thaw, and no great chance of any more, during the remainder of the Season, I think you had best order them to return to Camp, except you find they can be any how usefully employed.

If you meet with any Cattle as you come thro' Bucks County, I would have you drive them along. Those belonging to the disaffected, will most certainly be sent in to Philadelphia, If we do not get them. I do not imagine there can be any worth speaking of below New Town and the Cross Roads.[26]

I shall be glad that you will, upon your Return, visit General Lacey and inquire of him what dispositions he has made or intends making, he will have a considerable Body of Men with him and if they are properly placed and the Officers alert, they may certainly check the parties of the Enemy's light Horse that have frequently come out upwards of twenty miles and carried off the well-affected inhabitants' Horses, Cattle and Forage. I am &ca.

P. S. You will before this reaches you have received a Letter from Colo. Biddle; You will be pleased to execute the Business recommended therein, if possible.

Inclosed is a Letter for the Officer commanding the Artillery. I am informed that there are a Number of Cannon belonging to the Continent, the State of Pennsylvania and private persons at Bordentown. Be pleased to inquire into the matter and see whether they cannot be carried further up the River while the Waters are high, or if that cannot be done, back into the Country; that they may not fall into the Enemy's hands. Capt. Symonds has two 18 pounders and one 12 pounder upon travelling Carriages. The Roads are too bad to bring them to this Camp at present; but before he leaves them, he should put

[26] Wayne reported the carrying out of these orders in his letters of March 5 and 14. Pulaski cooperated with him in part of the movement, which the latter reported to Washington in a letter of March 3. A question of the right of command interfered with the cooperation. These letters from Wayne and Pulaski are in the *Washington Papers*.

them into a place of security, from whence they may be brought in better weather. These Cannon under the care of Symonds, should go to a place of perfect security as they are fine pieces and on travelling Carriages. He is directed to obey your orders.[27]

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS SENT TO THE HOSPITALS

[Valley Forge, February 28, 1778.]

His Excellency, being desirous to know the true State of his Army, and apprehensive that many of the Soldiery returned Sick absent, are either dead or deserted and thereby the General deceived as to his Strength and the public defrauded of much Money. He therefore strictly and positively enjoins it upon all Officers Superintending Hospitals, to make out as accurate Lists of the Sick in the several Hospitals within their respective districts, as possible and transmit them immediately to the Adjutant Generals Office. Those of each Brigade (with the Regiments and Companies to which they belong, and places where sick) on Seperate papers. Likewise of those who have died, in or deserted from the respective Hospitals in the same manner. They will also include in those Lists, the names of the Nurses, Tenders on Hospitals and Convalescents employed as Guards, who belong to the Army in the above mentioned manner, specifying what duty they are upon, against their names respectively, that the Regimental Returns may be rectified thereby. Returns of the Armes and Accoutrements belonging to the Sick in Hospitals, or to those who have died in or deserted from them, [also to the Convalescents and Guards] to be sent with the aforementioned Lists, specifying the Regiments to which they belong in like manner.

The Commander in Chief likewise orders all those belonging to the Army at the Hospitals, or in their vicinity, who have

[27] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

recovered and are really fit for duty and a Camp Life, to be sent immediately to Camp (as specifyed in the Instructions heretofore given) under proper Officers; who are to be strictly ordered to bring them to the Adjutant General's Office first and make report, that they may be sent to their respective Regiments.

As some of the recovered patients, are incapable of marching to Camp for want of Cloaths and necessaries. The Officers superintending the Sick in Hospital, will draw or procure such Articles of Cloathing for them, from the Clothier Genl. (or his Agents, or Deputies) as are absolutely necessary; taking the Men's receipts therefor and keeping an exact accompt thereof, Copies of which, they will transmit to the Adjutant General, in order to have them properly distributed to the Commanding Officers of the Regiments or Corps, so as to be properly charged in the Regimental Accompts.

The Superintending Officers will cause the Clothing, belonging to those who have died in Hospitals, to be appraised, and deliver it to those recovered Soldiers, who stand in need thereof, sending an Accompt thereof with the Name, Company and Regiments, such dead Soldiers formerly belonged to, to the Adjutant Generals Office, that they may be forwarded to the respective Regiments, to the end that the pay, according to appraisement, may be drawn for their Heirs.[28]

To THOMAS MONTGOMERIE[29]

Camp, Valley Forge, February 28, 1778.

Sir: I yesterday received your favor of the 16th. Instt. I am sorry to hear your indisposition still continues, and that it is such, as to make a change of your situation necessary.

[28] The draft is in an unidentified hand. The phrase in brackets is in Washington's writing. Indorsed: "All right and approved—no addition except an interlineation of a few words on the other side—You'l please to return this. A Hamilton."

[29] Of Dumfries, Va.

Under these circumstances, I cannot but consent to your request and shall willingly grant you a permit, to go either to Philadelphia, or to New York, as may be most expedient, when you are pleased to apply for it. I do not know whether the Legislature of Virginia has prescribed any Regulations in cases of this sort. If it has, I am persuaded, they will be pointedly observed by you. I am, etc.[30]

*To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN FITZGERALD

Valley-forge, February 28, 1778.

Dear Sir: This instant returning from the Comee. and finding the Post here, you must put up with a line or two in acknowledgment of your favr. of the 16th. Instt.[31] from York,

[30] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[31] Fitzgerald's letter, dated Feb. 16, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*. It reads:

"Upon my arrival here on Saturday afternoon, I waited upon Mr. Laurens, who (then being much engag'd) asked me to Breakfast next Morning giving me to understand that he had something of Consequence to say to me. In the Morng. he asked me 'if you had ever seen the much talk'd of Letter from Genl. Conway to Genl. Gates' I answer'd I was certain that you never had, unless, since my departure from Camp. He then said it was now in the Hands of Mr. Roberdeau, who (to his Knowledge) shewed it to some and he had reason to believe, to a great many, and that though the Paragraph Quoted by Colonel Wilkinson was not set down Verbatim, yet that in Substance it contain'd that and ten times more. Upon this I determin'd to demand it from Mr. Roberdeau in order to let you have a Copy of it. As this Gentleman always Spends Sunday in most ostensible Acts of public and private Devotions I deferr'd waiting on him 'till this morning when after a short introduction I let him into the intention of my visit. He assur'd me that he had shewn the Letter only to two, the President and another and gave me his Honor that he had deliver'd it to a french Gentleman by an order from Genl. Conway which was sent back after he had crossed Susquehanah, he was full of his Assurances that the Letter did not contain the Paragraph alluded to which gave him infinite Satisfaction as he entertained the highest respect both for you and Genl. Gates, he added however that had the Letter remained in his possession he should not have thought himself at Liberty to let a Copy be taken without the consent of the Gentleman who intrusted him with it. I told him that as he had pledged his Honor about the delivery of it, I thought it unnecessary to say any more upon that subject, but that I should have thought it my duty to have taken the most effectual means of Procuring a Copy had the Original remain'd in his hands. I then return'd to Mr. Laurens who, (notwithstanding this Gentlemans acknowledged Piety) did not give full credit to his assertions about the delivery of the Letter. Mr. Laurens then gave me an extract which he had taken from it, which I take the Liberty of inclosing to you the whole of that Letter I understand was couched in terms of the most bitter Invective of which this is a small Sample.

"I inclose you this Abstract rather for your private Information, than with an expectation of its answering any other purpose at this time. As I am of Opinion that the

instead of a long Letter, which it was my intention to have written you.

I thank you sincerely for the part you acted at York respecting C——y's Letter[32]; and believe with you, that matters have, and will, turn out very different to what that Party expected. G——s has involved himself in his Letters to me, in the most absurd contradictions; M—— has brought himself into a scrape he does not know how to get out of, with a Gentn. of this State and C——, as you know, is sent upon an expedition which all the World knew, and the event has proved, was not practicable.[33] In a word, I have a good deal of reason to believe that the Machinations of this Junto will recoil upon their own heads, and be a means of bringing some matters to light which by getting me out of the way some of them thought to conceal. Remember me in the most affectionate terms to all my old friends and acquaintances in Alexandria and be assured that with unfeigned regard I am, Dr. Sir yr. Affecte. friend.[34]

To CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT JONAS SYMONDS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, February 28, 1778.

Sir: As the thaw has, in all likelihood, destroyed the ice in the Delaware, the plan of annoying the shipping near the city will probably be frustrated. I have written to General Wayne

Gentlemen who have been most active in this dirty Business, are by this time heartily Sick of it, and plainly perceive that the Fabric which they were endeavoring to Rear was likely to fall upon their own Heads. Mr. Laurens's Sentiments upon the whole of this matter were exceedingly just and deliver'd with the greatest Candor.

"I hope your Excellency will excuse the Liberty I have taken upon this occasion and if I have gone too far, that you will impute it to the true Motive."

The extract Fitzgerald inclosed is in Henry Laurens's writing on a small scrap of paper and reads:

"What a Pity there is but one Gates! but the more I see of this Army the less I think it fit for general Action under its actual Chiefs and actual discipline. I speak you sincerely and freely and wish I could serve under you."

[32] In this letter C——y's was Conway, G——s was Gates, and M—— was Mifflin.

[33] Maj. Gen. Thomas Conway and the abortive Canadian expedition.

[34] From the *Digges-L'Enfant-Morgan Papers* in the Library of Congress.

on the subject, who will direct you what to do; you are therefore to act agreeable to his orders. I am, etc.[35] [H.S.P.]

To THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS[36]

Head Quarters, February 29[28], 1778.

Gentlemen: The Armoury department is in as bad a situation as it can well be, and requires measures to be immediately taken to put it upon a proper footing; otherwise the army must be greatly distressed on the score of arms, and the public will be at a great expence to little purpose. Mr. Dupree, who has come from Lebanon, to represent the disordered defective state of the department, will give you full information on the Subject, and enable you to judge what is requisite to be done. I am, etc.[37]

To LUND WASHINGTON

February 28, 1778.

. . . If you should happen to draw a *prize* in the *militia,* I must provide a man, either there or here, in your room; as nothing but your having the charge of my business, and the entire confidence I repose in you, could make me tolerable easy from home for such a length of time as I have been, and am likely to be. This therefore leads me to say, that I hope no motive, however powerful, will induce you to leave my business, whilst I, in a manner, am banished from home; because I should be unhappy to see it in common hands. For this reason, altho' from accidents and misfortunes not to be averted by human foresight, I make little or nothing from my Estate, I am still willing to increase your wages, and make it worth your

[35] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[36] The committee of conference at Moore Hall: Francis Dana, Joseph Reed, Nathaniel Folsom, John Harvie, Charles Carroll, and Gouverneur Morris.

[37] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* No. 33, folio 225.

while to continue with me. To go on in the improvement of my Estate in the manner heretofore described to you, fulfilling my plans, and keeping my property together, are the principal objects I have in view during these troubles; and firmly believing that they will be accomplished under your management, as far as circumstances and acts of providence will allow, I feel quite easy under disappointments; which I should not do, if my business was in common hands, liable to suspicions. I am, etc.[38]

[38] Extract in "Washington's Letter Book, No. 5." Lund answered (March 18): "By your letter I should suppose you were apprehensive I intended to leave you. I hope for the future you will entertain a better opinion of me than to beleive that while you are encountering every danger and difficulty, at the hazard of your life and repose, giving up all domestic happiness, to serve the public and me among them, that I would attempt to take advantage of you by screwing up my wages or leaving your estate to the care of a stranger." Lund Washington's letter is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

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